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VOL. XIII, No. 22.

WEEKLY PEOPLE

LABOR BATTLES IN CALIFORNIA

THE TIMES BOYCOTT IN LOS ANGELES

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, AUGUST 29, 1903

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PRICE TWO CENTS

That which holds the center of the stage in the labor circles of Southern California, the effects of which are felt throughout the United States, is the fight of the International Typographical Union against the Los Angeles Times. The Times is probably the only large influential capitalist daily which does not recognize the I. T. U. The fight is of long standing, and is not waged for the purpose of bettering the conditions of the employees of the Times but that members of the I. T. U. may get the jobs in the Times plant.

The editors of the Times and the Herald, both morning papers, are bitter personal enemies, and recently had a fight in the Los Angeles Theatre. Wm. Hardison, of the Herald, assailing H. G. Otis of the Times. The Times has powerful financial backing. The Herald has barely been able to keep above water. About two years ago A. Hamburger Sons, who own the largest department store in Los Angeles, withdrew their advertising patronage from the Herald and increased their space in the Times. This was a serious blow to the Herald, which could ill afford to lose anything. Something must be done; something was done, and thereby hangs a tale of interest to all workmen in Southern California whether union or non-union, and which, if understood, will be a lesson which will enable workmen to understand where their interests lie, and where their enemies are at.

The Herald then fanned the smoldering flame of the fight of the I. T. U. against its successful rival, the Times, and became the champion of the local unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. Shortly after a committee from the Council of Labor, requested A. Hamburger Sons to withdraw its advertisement from the Times. Hamburger refused, and then both the Times and Hamburger's store were boycotted by the Council of Labor. Hamburger's store was picketed, to see that no union men traded there, the members of the Retail Clerks' Union and other union men remaining at work, while all the workmen of Southern California, especially members of unions connected with the Council of Labor, were requested to wear buttons with the inscription "I don't read the Los Angeles Times." Some unions imposed heavy fines upon members for not wearing them.

Here we must introduce another element which participated in this economic tragedy, a gang of grafters and labor fakirs: "human parasites," who live from the dues, assessments, donations and fines, secured from the innocent and class-conscious rank and file of the unions affiliated with the Council of Labor. L. W. Rogers, editor of the Union Labor News, "a private paper," a slick, mild-voiced labor fakir, and the deserter of a poor wife, with several children, one unborn; F. Gregory, ex-convict and labor fakir; Lemuel Biddle, ex-Social Democrat, secretary of Council of Labor and labor fakir; J. Lynch and A. Hays, officers of the I. T. U., labor fakirs with \$30,000 to fight the Times with and incidentally brace themselves; Jim Gray, ex-president of the Council of Labor, general ignoramus on the labor question, could not tell the difference between actual wages and a baseball bat, all around conceited bully, and slick labor fakir; and a number of lesser lights, including bogus Socialists of the J. Stitt Wilson and Walter Mills variety.

This is the gang which did the dirty work for the Herald; they lined up all the union men under the threats of fines, etc., against the Times; and, on Labor Day they passed in review in front of the Herald, to have their pictures taken, and yelled "What's the matter with the Herald? It's all right," until they were hoarse.

Here we must digress to explain the rights of labor, the principles of bona fide trades unionism, so that the lesson to be learned by honest workmen from this two years of economic tragedy will be understood. Later we will connect where we have broken off.

Society is divided into two distinct classes, the capitalist class and the working class. The capitalist class owns the mills, mines, factories, railroads, etc.; in fact, generally speaking, it owns all the social tools of production, distribution, and exchange, and controls the reins of government, both judiciary and executive. This class is few in number, but with its emissaries, the politicians and labor fakirs, is able to keep the working class in ignorance and exploit it. The capitalist class lives from rent, interest, and profit, does no useful work, but of course, like the pickpocket the capitalist is ever very busy scheming how to increase his income by wrecking some other capitalist, or intensifying the work of his employees, decreasing their actual wages; in fact, this modern coupon-clipping capitalist looks upon the working class as his natural prey, to exploit, cajole, throw out of employment, when not needed, or too old; throw in prison when found out of work and penniless; and, if the worker organizes a union for his protection, it is called a lawless conspiracy; should he strike for more of the wealth he produces he is shot by the militia under the guise of capitalist law and order, this militia being composed of sons of the rich, and deluded workmen (filled with bombastic patriotism by lawyers and stay-at-home heroes in Fourth of July orations), who seek to satisfy their cruel blood-thirsty desires by shooting workmen. But the capitalist class, like the feudal barons of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are fast digging their own grave. Blind, drunk with wealth, power, and success, fighting among themselves, and becoming fewer in numbers, their government becoming more corrupt, with postoffice scandals, St. Louis bribery cases, prostitution, crime and disease prevalent everywhere, reveling in blind arrogance with the stolen wealth they have sweated from the working class, theirs will be a sad awakening, when the working class aroused to their rights, clothed with the intelligence and class-consciousness, imbued from the teachings of the Socialist Labor Party and the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, will rise as one man, in a determined, and we Socialists hope, a peaceful manner via the S. L. P. ballot, overthrow the capitalist system of private ownership in the social means of production and distribution and substitute the Socialist co-operative commonwealth under which there will be no class distinctions, no capitalists, no wage slaves, and no exploitation. Every person will be a useful worker and the capitalist will become a useful member of society. Social tools of production and distribution will be reclaimed from the capitalist by the vote of the people on the same basis as society disarms the highwayman, or as the chattel slaves were freed from the Southern slave-owners, without the bloodshed and violence which accompanied that historical act.

On the other hand we have the working class, over seventy-five per cent. of the population, who own hardly any wealth and who have nothing between themselves and the grave, except their labor power; which, under capitalism, its members are forced to sell to the tool owning capitalist class in order to live. This class, as yet unconscious of the fierce class struggle (in which its members are active participants), going on in modern society, reared in the mills,

mines, factories, and schools of capitalism, are yet governed by capitalist ideals. They have not yet learned the connection between economics and politics. Bitterly as they fight capitalist oppression on the economic field, by forming unions, striking and boycotting, they do not understand that their economic freedom, consisting of equal opportunity to employment and receiving therefor the full social value of their toil, can only be accomplished by their political supremacy. This capitalist environment and education, coupled with the false economics taught by the pure and simple trade unions affiliated with the A. F. of L. and K. of L., i. e., that capital and labor (meaning capitalist and laborer) are brothers, and that things can be so adjusted under capitalism as to be satisfactory to both, make, the workers, as yet, easy victims of capitalist politicians; but:

"New occasions teach new duties;
Time makes ancient truths uncouth.
We must e'er be up and doing,
If we'd keep abreast of truth."

The educational work of the Socialist Labor Party has brought about the formation of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, a union which has for its work the educating and drilling of the workers, to strike both on the economic and political field; to teach the workers that, instead of the capitalist supporting the worker, it is the worker who produces abundantly for the capitalist, and receives a small portion called wages in return; that, instead of there being any love between them, their interests are essentially antagonistic and cannot be smoothed over under capitalist rule; that the interest of all workers, regardless of race, creed, sex or skill, are identical, and that they must unite solidly, aware of three common class interests, and vote solidly for the working class program of the Socialist Labor Party.

If the capitalist class were to embark on the ocean, by accident be wrecked and drowned, the workers would be better off. Should the same fate overtake the working class the capitalists would have to go to work. This is merely a figurative illustration to show that it is not the capitalist who supports the worker, but the worker who supports the capitalist.

Labor, with aid of machinery and natural resources, produces all wealth, and since machinery is the product of the human race for countless ages past, and the earth is free for all and a gift of nature, it follows that both tools of production and natural resources are the social inheritance of the human race, and, therefore, the human race and not a few individuals should own it, and all wealth should belong to its producer—labor.

Take a walk through Los Angeles. In fine mansions, amid grand scenery, you will find the sleek capitalist who rides in carriages and automobiles, eats in fine glittering restaurants, the picture of health and contentment. The workmen you will find in crowded districts, he walks, eats at the cheap lunch counters, or "hits the punk" with his "full dinner pail." In fact, the social contrast and class distinction, between capitalist and worker, should be apparent to every thinking workman.

We can now take up the explanation of the local labor situation where we broke off.

By the light of the class distinctions explained above it can easily be seen that the owners of the Times, Herald, and Hamburger's store belong in the same category, viz., the capitalist class. They are employers of labor and live by scheming and pocketing dividends. As such, when there is any fight between capitalists, it is criminal on the part of

labor leaders to have workmen take sides with one capitalist against the other. As workmen our fight is against the whole capitalist class. To down the Times and Hamburger's and build up the Herald and Broadway Department store, is only robbing Peter to pay Paul or downing a Rockefeller to find a Morgan in his place, or cutting branches from the capitalist tree only to find the remaining limbs, which grow faster than you can cut them off, stronger than ever.

We are ready to believe all that the Herald has said against General Otis and the Times, we are equally ready to believe what the Times has said against William Hardison and the Herald; also that Hamburger violated the child labor law, and was fined for it; because "when thieves fall out honest men hear the truth"; but the facts disclosed by their fight is but a mild exposure of the scheming and corruption which is prevalent throughout the capitalist class.

Had the workers employed by the Times or Hamburger's shown some rebellious spirit and made a demand or went on strike, there would have been some justification in the present boycott, but in the light of what is going on in the pure and simple trade unions throughout the country, viz., the corruption unearthed in New York, where several walking delegates have been indicted for blackmail and extortion, the ex-treasurer and walking delegate of the stonecutters getting five years in prison for stealing \$27,000 from his union, other internal fights in Philadelphia, San Francisco, Pittsburgh, Chicago, Los Angeles, etc., where members of one union are inveigled into fighting members of another union, like the fight of the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners against the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters, etc.—in the light of these facts, would it be impertinent to ask how much our local grafters and labor (mis)leaders, viz., ex-convict Gregory, Deserter Rogers, Doolittle Biddle, Slippery Wilson, and the rest of the parasites on the local body of labor, not for this job? How much of that forty-thousand never was used to fight the Times but stopped over en route? We might also ask why were not all the local advertisers in the Times boycotted? Those who advertised in both the Herald and Times were all right, those who did not advertise in the Herald were wrong. The nigger in the woodpile is out. The union and non-union men of Southern California can now see how these labor fakirs in quest of easy graft, viz.: strike donations, high initiation fees, strike assessments, etc., have betrayed the rank and file into a useless sham battle for the last two years.

Workingmen! We are many, the capitalists are few. On election day we have a hundred votes to one of theirs; on the economic field they can starve us into submission by closing the factories. We have thousands of stomachs to feed with very little means, while the capitalist has few with billions of dollars to fall back on. Unless a strike on the economic field is followed up by united action on the political field, no lasting good can be accomplished. A class-conscious education and universal solidarity must be instilled into the labor movement. Ignorance is our worst enemy, instead of depending on blase, bombastic misleaders of labor, we must study and depend upon ourselves. Instead of fighting, striking, and organizing unions 365 days in the year and on election day going and voting our enemy's representatives into power, we must also vote class-conscious workmen into power.

Instead of having a Federation of Labor that allows its members to belong to the militia, and be hauled to scenes of strikes by union railroaders, to shoot down brother unionists' (cases of this kind happen frequently in the A. F. of L.), we must have a well disciplined and educated body which insists on solidarity, standing together and giving no aid to the capitalist class in any shape or form.

The economic field of labor is the real stage of life. When at the theater, while you get greatly agitated, still you can rest assured that when the curtain goes down those that have been killed, injured, betrayed and victimized, are safe, but on the field of labor, when workmen are killed or injured in the mills, mines, or factories of capitalism, betrayed or victimized by modern Judases like the Rogers, Gregory, Biddle, Gray and Lynch crowd, they suffer in all its cruel reality. All the wealth and libraries (the very stones of which ring with the blood of workmen killed in his mills), donated by Carnegie will not bring back the fathers and brothers killed in his mills; neither will the bombastic hot air speeches, ignorance or hypocritical actions of workmen assuming leadership of pure and simple unions, clothed in the sacred robe of labor, allay the suffering and reaction they cause. History is replete with betrayals and corruption, the numerous Judas Iscariots, and Benedict Arnolds, furnish the most blood-curdling recitals of the past. And present day news brings others to light almost daily. The only thing we workmen can do, to guard against onslaughts from within, and treachery from within our ranks, is to educate our class to a realization of their class interests, every individual working person whether union or non-union, regardless of race, religion, or sex, should study to understand their position in society.

Our land is fertile, natural resources boundless, machinery highly developed. In four months (even under the present wasteful method of production) abundance can be produced to supply the home markets, while with the aid of death dealing cannons, foreign markets must be found for the surplus. Why then is not every person well clothed, fed and sheltered? Why the multi-millionaire and pauper? Workingmen! don't you realize there is something wrong when the people who do the work have the least, and those who do no useful work don't know how to spend their wealth; and, in many cases have detectives employed to watch it?

Why waste your energies and pennies to down Otis and the Times, merely to strengthen other exploiters who pat you on the back, but exploit you just as cruelly as he does. Stripped of all its verbiage, Otis, in his special labor number and answer to the citizen's address, merely says: "I want docile wage-slaves who will not object to the way I sweat them for dividends, or exploit them for profits." The whole capitalist class is of the same opinion, but different capitalists adopt different tactics.

Otis is an open enemy; being a capitalist, and having the capitalist conception of "Right," that is "The right to exploit labor," he strikes straight from the shoulder, while capitalists of the Hearst, Bryan and Harrison type prefer to pat the worker on the back or give them soothing syrup by posing as labor friends while they exploit you just as bad and oftentimes worse than the Otis type. Other papers, which stand pat with Otis, in principle, but recognize the I. T. U., are not assailed by the I. T. U. in their denunciation and misrepresentation of workmen's organizations. This shows that it is the purpose of the I. T. U. to monopolize jobs for their members to the exclusion of others, because the high initiation fees, and surplus of men make jobs for all impossible.

Workingmen! "The great seem great, because we are on our knees. Let us rise" and throw the whole capitalist class with their politicians and labor fakirs overboard. Go into politics, not capitalist politics of the old Democratic and Republican parties, into whose shambles labor fakirs have led us each election and been rewarded by the capitalist class, viz.: Ex-Master Workman of the K. of L. Powderly, who got a political job as Commissioner of Immigration; Sargent of the Locomotive Firemen, likewise; Garland, ex-president of Amalgamated Iron and Steel Workers, collector of port at Pittsburg; Sam Gompers' son, who has a political job in Washington, while Sammy is vice-president of Mark Hanna's Civic Federation, which has for its purpose to settle strikes in favor of the employer;—all this for being labor Judases for the capitalist.

We want working class politics brought into the union—Socialist Labor Party politics, which will abolish capitalism for all time. Apply the political ax at the roots, i. e., private ownership in the social means of production, and distribution. Socialism is our only point of safety, but, like all great truths, it is having a tremendous struggle with error. It took centuries to convince the people that the world was round, all manners of tortures were inflicted upon the adherents of Columbus, but finally, truth prevailed. Strange to say the workmen who fight Socialism the hardest would be most benefited by its inauguration. But the workers will learn. Already the force of the educational work of the S. L. P. and S. T. & L. A. is being felt throughout the country. Workingmen are beginning to understand the proper use of the ballot. As yet it is crudely and badly used in favor of labor charlatans, but, eventually, the workers will see through these grafters and support the Socialist Labor Party. On the economic field the educational force of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance is also being felt. A great many unions allow educational discussions, race prejudice is diminishing, and a certain air of intelligent progressiveness permeates the unions which, prior to the formation of the Alliance did not prevail. Wherever the Alliance men participate in a strike they instill solidarity and intelligence into it. Several strikes have been won by the Alliance, and the American Flint Glassworkers' Union at their late convention at Cincinnati, O., June, 1903, adopted the Declaration of Principles of the Alliance. These principles declare ultimately for Socialism and call upon its members to vote against wage-slavery. The historical mission of the Alliance is to form the systematic organized working basis of the Socialist co-operative commonwealth. In the meantime it will teach the workers to stand together and get as much of the wealth produced as possible, by intelligent concerted action on the political and economic field.

To the cry of union wrecking we say the old time guilds had to give way to the K. of L. and the latter to the A. F. of L. The more progressive American Labor Union and Western Federation of Miners, are dealing hard blows to the conservative A. F. of L., and since labor produces all wealth we have just as much right to all we produce as to part of it. Standing on this tenable and unshakable groundwork, and knowing that our freedom from wage-slavery means the overthrow of this present system, the Alliance or its principles must be instilled and finally dominate the labor movement and supersede all other labor organizations. Our "union wrecking" consists of tearing down, old time-worn harmful methods, exposing the grafters, fakirs, and bunco-steerers, who bring

disrepute on the labor movement, and instill class-solidarity and education in our ranks. This is no mere union wrecking than tearing down decayed shacks and erecting modern homes in home wrecking.

Finally, you workmen of California may ask: "Since you Alliance men knew the present fight was only a battle between rival capitalist interests, and the Rogers-Biddle crowd used their influence in the unions to line us up to fight for the Herald, for which it seems they must have received considerable reward, why did you not let us know before this—the fact that the Times paid better wages than the Herald and that Hamburger's employed union help and sold union made goods, being carefully concealed from us?" We did try to reach you, but our members were denied the right of free speech in the Council of Labor Hall on several occasions, and were ordered from the hall; we were slandered in Rogers' private paper, the Union Labor News, and being opposed by all the capitalist papers, from the Times to the Record, could not publicly express ourselves except in our hall and on the street. When challenged to meet us in debate and prove his slanderous assertion of scab, etc., Rogers, who was aware that we knew his crooked career and would expose him, dared not face us, but continued his slander, and abuse. Honest workmen believing this slick rascal honest, re-echoed his slanders, but: "Truth crushed to the earth will rise again," and we hope the workmen of California will learn from the exposure of the crooked careers of ex-convict Gregory and Deserter Rogers to be watchful of their interests. Should this interest or dissatisfy you, remember we are willing to send our speakers before any union in this city or state to explain our position and answer questions; or, should the fakirs herein exposed attempt to deny that they have betrayed your interests and wasted your energies we stand ready to meet them in public debate.

Labor day is again at hand, not a labor day that has been wrested from the capitalist class, but one that has been given us, as a sop by capitalist representatives in office, that labor Judases may parade us before the capitalist politicians who approximate our voting strength and judge what reward to give the labor fakir, whether to make him dog-catcher, policeman, or commissioner of immigration; or have us shout for some capitalist who, no doubt, rewards the fakirs with something more substantial than the "hot air" the fakirs give us. Let us hope that by the time the next real labor day rolls around, viz., International Labor Day, May 1st, that the blinkers will be removed from labor's eyes, and then our actions will be as different as vigorous manhood is from toddling infancy. Instead of supporting an alleged labor paper privately owned by a grafter, who beguiles unions to subscribe for all the members, regardless of whether some wish it or not, collecting from the union for the same, thus making those who have no use for it pay tribute to him, let us hope the workers will voluntarily support the press of the Socialist Labor Party and Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, which is owned by the members of the S. L. P. as a body, and its policy is determined by the collective action of the whole body, and its editor elected by referendum vote. Workingmen attend the lectures of the S. L. P. and S. T. & L. A. at 205 1-2 South Main street every Sunday evening. Free platform. Questions answered. Free public reading rooms.

Press Committee L. A., 325, S. T. & L. A., Los Angeles, Cal.
August 13, 1903.

Important Documents on the "Noble Waging of the Class Struggle"

[Below are two documents—first, a pamphlet issued by a New London, Ct., capitalist; second, a secret circular from an association styled "The Corporations' Auxiliary Company." The two go together, and are given under their respective titles.]

I. MACHINE POLITICS and ORGANIZED LABOR. Is There a Political Conspiracy.

Mr. Whiton's Startling Exposure to Organized Labor.

Lucius E. Whiton assured the members of the New London Central Labor Union last evening that there were men in labor unions, and high up in their confidence, two, who were paid representatives of "The Corporations' Auxiliary Company," of Cleveland, whose business it was to spy out and report to manufacturers the

doings of labor organizations affecting their business, and at times controlling their movements.

Mr. Whiton proved his statement by submitting correspondence from the concern and telling of an interview with a representative. The concern offered to put a man or men into the Whiton factory who would keep the Whitons posted on all that was being done by the labor men in their employ. The representative of the auxiliary company assured Mr. Whiton that they had men in their service who were officers of unions, delegates to labor conventions, state and national, and in the official board of these organizations. The price for a moulder or machinist would be \$175 a month, and for other classes of labor \$150 per month, the wages paid to be deducted therefrom.

Taking this proposition as the subject of his address, Mr. Whiton interested

the local labor men as they were never interested before.—From the New London Daily Globe of July 30, 1903.

The Trust and Trades Union Combination.

The correspondence, interview and comments here made public clearly indicate the methods of a thoroughly organized political conspiracy, the influence of which has been increasingly manifest in legislation during a number of years.

All citizens desirous of preserving genuine American institutions should be interested. It is not a simple question of interest to organized labor, although it should interest organized labor first, because it involves the honor of some labor leaders.

From the standpoint of social or economic conditions, there is no reasonable explanation of the rapid growth of class antagonisms and of the so-called strife

between labor and capital in the United States. But under our form of government, and from the standpoint of political conspirators who desire to make the laws to suit their private ends, the value of a great class organization can be readily understood. Such a class organization must be made to cohere by some means in order that it may be effectively used for the desired purpose. Hence the whole intent of the American Federation of Labor leadership and literature is apparently to foster the class spirit and promote the idea of class instead of national patriotism.

Questions of dishonesty on the part of labor leaders in administering the financial affairs of the various unions are comparatively rare. But there are occasional grave questions as to their honor in union controversies; and as to their personal income from outside sources, and the use which they make of political

power. The facts which are here made public may be of unusual interest to many comparatively thoughtless labor union enthusiasts who sometimes blindly follow prominent leaders. These facts should also interest all good citizens.

The correspondence, interviews and comments explain themselves:

The "enclosed pamphlet" referred to in this first letter describes what is termed a system of "Industrial Inspection as Applied to Steam Railroads, Street and Suburban Railroads, Mining Companies, Rolling Mills, Telephone and Telegraph Companies and Manufacturing Plants of all kinds." It discusses at considerable length the evils of trade unionism, and closes with the following paragraph:

"The Corporations' Auxiliary Company, through its system of industrial inspection, is prepared to keep a manufacturer closely and continuously advised of the

conditions in his own particular plant: of breakage and leakage, of agitation and organizations; of the dissatisfaction and discontent, if any, that exists, and of the feelings of the workmen at all times, making it possible to give promotion strictly on merit, eradicate any discontent or abuse, and render it easier to establish and maintain a constant harmonious relation between himself and his employees, thus assisting in preventing strikes and all labor difficulties. This system is not an experiment, but has become to be recognized in many factories, railroads, etc., as a necessity, as much so as insurance."

The following letter of inquiry was sent in reply to this first letter and circular, and the second letter and contract in duplicate were received in due course:

New London, Conn., U. S. A., July 10, 1903.—The Corporations' Auxiliary Com-

pany, Chamber of Commerce Bldg., Cleveland, O.: Gentlemen—We have received your letter of the 7th inst., with circular, and are interested to know the terms governing your service, such as proposed. Please let us have full additional particulars by early mail. We are about to start new foundry and may be interested in the service proposed. Yours very truly,

The D. E. Whiton Machine Co.

L. E. W.-L. F. B. L. E. Whiton, Sec.

Hy. Apthorp, Matt. M. Smith, J. W. Smith, Treas. V. Pres. Mgr.

THE CORPORATIONS' AUXILIARY COMPANY,

Chamber of Commerce Building,

Cleveland, O., July 13, 1903.

(Personal and Confidential.)

Mr. L. E. Whiton, Sec. The D. E. Whiton Machine Co., New London, Conn.

Dear Sir: We have your favor of the

10th and same carefully noted. Our manager will be down your way in the course of ten days or two weeks, and will take this question up with you in person. It is almost impossible for us to give you what information you ask for by mail. However, we can say this: We will put a thorough mechanic in your plant, machinists or moulder, or a man who is an American Federation of Labor man, who will be an unskilled laborer, but would be more able to get among the different people in your plant, while we can put in a moulder's helper or a chipper.

It all depends upon where you want to get the information from the worst and what line of trade is likely to give you the most concern. If we put a man in your plant he would furnish you with all the union information that is going on in his particular line; keep you thoroughly posted as to union conditions in your town, and find out just exactly how the different unions felt in regard to your plant, and you will be in possession of advance information as regards any strikes or lockouts. He would also keep you posted as to agitators in your shop, giving you such information as would be of service to you in getting rid of such men in your plant as were troublesome to you and the men associated with them.

We do not know the size of your plant, and therefore could not suggest how many men you might want or how many different trades it would be well to represent this way. These men we send you are thoroughly posted in their line of business, and can report to you direct or they send their report to us and we copy it and send it to you. Our men are always conservative in their talk, taking the conservative side of an argument pertaining to the matters above mentioned; and, with the information you would have at hand, if you make proper use of it, would keep your shop in peace and harmony.

The price of these men would be: for moulder or machinist, \$75 per month; for all other classes of help, \$50 per month. From this is deducted what money is paid to these men in the shops where they work. Wages received for overtime and Sundays not deducted. This would cover all the expenses attached to these men except their railroad fare to and from Cleveland, Ohio.

This is about all we can give you by mail. Will say that all of our men are educated in our work, and upon receiving an order from manufacturers we are not in a position to fill them immediately, but transfer one of our men from such position as we are able to take him and put him in your plant. This sometimes takes quite a while—from three to four weeks. While at other times, where men have just closed a contract, we are in position to send them at once.

If the above meets your ideas and approval we would like to hear from you at a very early date. We desire to say further that this price applies only to contracts existing for not less than one month. For shorter time than one month there is an additional charge.

The men we send you would be thoroughly capable of talking the matter over with you. We even go further than this system of education, but do not care to mention it all in letter. We hope you can see your way clear to favor us with a contract at an early date, and assure you we would give you the best service in every particular. Yours truly,

The Corporations Auxiliary Co.,

By Matt. M. Smith, V. P.

P. S.—We enclose you herewith contract. If you desire to accept the same please let us know at once, and we will send our man on as soon as possible.

By Arthur, Matt. M. Smith, J. W. Smith, Jr., V. Pres., Sec.

THE CORPORATIONS AUXILIARY COMPANY,

Chamber of Commerce Building,

Cleveland, O., July 13, 1903.

(Personal and Confidential.)

Mr. L. E. Whiton,

Sec. The D. E. Whiton Machine Co.,

New London, Conn.

Dear Sir: We will place in your plant at New London, Conn., one of our representatives for the purpose of checking the general labor conditions there, for the sum of \$150 per month, except machinists and moulder, they to receive \$175 per month, and the representative's railroad fare from Cleveland to New London, Conn., and return; payment to date from the time representative leaves Cleveland office until his return to Cleveland office.

This representative is to be placed upon the pay roll of the shop he may be employed in at the same wages as other workmen in his class are receiving, and whatever wages are paid to this man in this matter are to be deducted from the above mentioned sum of \$150 per month. Wages earned by this representative by working overtime or on Sundays and holidays not to be deducted.

This rate is to apply only to a contract of not less than one month. Subject to this condition: this contract is subject to termination at the end of any calendar month by either party upon not less than fifteen days' previous written notice.

It is understood that we will leave the same operator at your plant as long as possible; but should he insist on leaving or we be compelled to withdraw him, then we agree to give you notice as early as possible before he leaves and send another operator in his place as promptly as we can, and a few days before if possible.

We are sending you this letter in duplicate. If you will kindly mark one of the copies "Accepted" and return to us it will be a sufficient contract between us. Awaiting the prompt return of your

acceptance, we remain, yours truly,

The Corporations Auxiliary Co.,

Accepted. By Matt. M. Smith, V. P.

Notes.

In accordance with this Corporations Auxiliary Company's letter of July 13, and before its receipt had been acknowledged, the writer was called by telephone at about 4 o'clock Saturday p. m., July 18, by Mr. J. H. Smith, manager, who gave him name, said that he represented the Corporations Auxiliary Company, and with my permission would come over to the office for a personal interview.

He called shortly after, and gave a detailed story of the work in which he was engaged.

Mr. Smith came up from New York, and had with him a copy of the above letter and contract which I had received from Cleveland.

The substance of Mr. Smith's story was practically as follows:

He said he had been in this business for seventeen years; for the past three years as a corporation under the present name; for six years previously as a partnership; and before that his partner and himself had been separately engaged in the same line.

He said his company operated three departments:

First—A Publication Department, publishing a Quarterly Bulletin, which he showed me a copy, and that they circulated a great deal of literature. Evidently this Publication Department is a cloak to cover up the other departments when this is advisable.)

Second—A Legislative Department, where watch was kept upon obnoxious legislation, either "labor" or other—i. e., they watched all classes of legislation which was in opposition to the interests of their clients.

Third—Industrial Inspection, or secret service work, principally in controlling and directing labor unions. In this line they did any kind of work which best suited the interests and desires of their clients, from breaking up unions to simply running them quietly and avoiding trouble.

He said that many Shop Committee men in large shops were their men.

That many local officers in the larger cities, and C. L. U. delegates were their men.

That there was hardly ever a state or national convention of any union but that some of their men were delegates, and in some cases their men were national officers.

That in this way they got first news of proposed labor laws, etc., and used this news to arrange opposition to such laws when it was advisable.

He claimed that the Corporations Auxiliary Company had absolute control of the situation in many centers. In some large cities (probably New York) things were pretty much stirred up just now, but were coming their way all right.

He said that at first their business was very largely with the big railroads and mines; afterward with large corporations and street railways and now they were making more contracts than ever before with many new enterprises, which took on one or two of their men simply as an insurance against trouble.

He asked how many men we were going to employ, and thought our foundry enterprise was going to be so small that we couldn't afford to make the contract just by ourselves; but that very often they made a sort of combination of the manufacturers in a town and put in two or three "inside men" in some of the largest shops, and one or two "outside men" to work the streets and saloons, and could "deliver the goods" every time.

The writer deferred final consideration and put the matter off because we were not yet quite ready to start up, but would let them hear from us about it later on.

Mr. Smith sat near the writer's desk and mostly spoke in a low tone of voice, but a stenographer was present at an adjoining desk in the same office, and made the following notes of remarks by Mr. Smith:

"Wherever you find an Iron Moulder's Union you will find trouble. I know what I am speaking about now; this is my practical experience."

"We have delegates to the National Conventions of the labor unions. We know what is going on."

"We can keep your men out of the union, if you are not in it; if you are in a thoroughly organized union we can keep it from running away with you."

"Yes; our men have to be very careful; and you have to be careful not to do anything to give them away."

"They are just like a flock of sheep. We only have to have a few leaders. The rest will always follow."

"Our work is mostly with shops having a large number of men. We could not work as effectively with you with only a small number."

Mr. Smith claimed to have a force of several hundred men which they directed from Cleveland. Most of their men were sent from Cleveland, which was their main office, although they had working offices in several large cities.

He said they had only one trouble which they could not help; occasionally one of their men would drink too much and get too talkative. Whenever they found it out, they always dropped that man.

A commercial agency report was sent for, which stated that the Corporations Auxiliary Company was incorporated under Ohio laws in January, 1902, with an authorized capital of \$25,000, all subscribed and paid in cash, and succeeded a partnership. The president is an ex-Railroad Commissioner of Ohio. The

vice president and the manager devote their entire time to the company's business, and are men of some ability. The company has a well appointed office in the Chamber of Commerce Building, but no other visible assets.

Before leaving, Mr. Smith gave me a copy of their Bulletin, and an assortment of circulars, and said that he would call on me again regarding it when we were ready.

Throughout the interview Mr. Smith's manner was that of a man thoroughly familiar with his business and perfectly confident of his ability to fulfill his contracts.

The writer afterward sent the following acknowledgment of the letter and call, to which no reply has been made:

New London, Conn., U. S. A., July 21, 1903.—Mr. Matt. M. Smith, V. P., The Corporations Auxiliary Company, Cleveland, O.: Dear Sir—I acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 13th inst., and also a call on the 18th inst., in relation to this general subject, from your Mr. J. H. Smith, who has given me much additional information.

I am not in sympathy with the methods which you have explained so fully, and regard them as directly opposed to the best social welfare. In fact, I am unavoidably led to conclude from circumstances which have come to my knowledge, and by your explanations, that there is also a radical side in opposition to what your letter terms the "conservative side" of this secret service work.

I shall not inquire regarding the Radical side; but must remark that a tremendous responsibility rests somewhere for the suffering and crimes and bloodshed and murders which have accompanied recent great strikes. The Cleveland assassin of McKinley may have been prompted by his criminal act by the talk of some of these "Radical" agents. The possibility that is true places an additional moral responsibility upon those who have employed such secret agents, and I shall consider it my duty as a citizen to oppose as actively as possible the methods which you have explained so fully.

I enclose some leaflets and small pamphlets touching on this general question, which you may be interested to look over.

Why not join openly and earnestly in a direct campaign for good government for all citizens, instead of operating a spotter system for the benefit of a small and selfish class? Certainly a "spotter" is not much better than a "scab," even if he does carry a union card. Yours very truly,

L. E. Whiton, Sec.

L. E. W. L. F. B.

COMMENTS.

Every large city is the center of many influences, some of which are good and some evil. Cleveland is a beautiful city, located in the "Connecticut Western Reserve," and is the home of many Connecticut people; so, of course, there can be no intentional reflection in these comments by a citizen of Connecticut upon that city as a municipality. This fact may partially account for its industrial and political prominence, and it may even be construed as giving Connecticut a certain right to discuss the matter.

Nearly everybody will admit that men who advertise their willingness to undertake lying and deception as a business are generally ready to lie and deceive for the side which pays the most money. This, of course, suggests questions as to who can afford to employ lying and deceptive methods, and as to how such people get their money back. The significance of locality is mentioned only because it strongly indicates the possible common aim and origin of the various activities which are referred to. In considering the correspondence which is here made public, in its relation to a large question, the following significant circumstances ought not to be overlooked:

A prominent influence is "practical politics," which has been closely associated with some large industrial enterprises, and friendly to all legislation favoring "the great combinations of capital commonly called trusts," has been "at home" in Cleveland.

Previous to last October the newspapers mentioned frequent interviews between some of the most prominent labor leaders of the country and the politicians and financiers identified with these trusts, many of these interviews being reported from Cleveland.

Since the completion of the work of the Coal Strike Commission, the labor union representative on this commission (who was reported to have been originally appointed after conference with this Cleveland political influence, and who is a member of the Order of Railway Conductors) has received a political appointment, presumably at an attractive salary, in the new Department of Commerce.

Clarence S. Darrow, of counsel for the Miners' Union before the Coal Strike Commission, has recently been quoted as having said, "There is a peril in the growing friendship between large operators and labor leaders."

The positions of Mr. Darrow have lately been referred to in a somewhat heated manner by Mr. Gompers, in the American Federationist for July, under the title "Mr. Darrow's Errors."

The national headquarters of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, one of the "conservative" labor organizations, which a recent editorial says has "sometimes been accused by other unions of working for the employers," is located in Cleveland, where its chief had resided until his recent death.

There has recently been very frequent reference to the mutual friendliness of "organized capital" and "organized labor," some of this friendliness making a public appearance in group photographs of prominent Cleveland politicians and locomotive engineers, which have been described in minute detail in newspapers of large circulation.

The "Civic Federation," under the domination of these friendly organized capitalists and laborers and politicians, is apparently also a Cleveland idea.

The president of The Corporations Auxiliary Company, of Cleveland, which solicits contracts from manufacturers to "furnish union and non-union men and women of all trades for secret service work," and to assist them in making up black lists, was formerly an Ohio railroad commissioner, this fact being sufficient (if Ohio is like Connecticut) to establish the political nature of some of the work of this company.

A circular issued by this Corporations Auxiliary Company refers to the resolution of Max Hayes, the "Radical Socialist from Cleveland," in the New Orleans convention of the American Federation of Labor, and makes the "confident prediction" that the trades union movement will probably be entirely dominated by Socialists before the next American Federation of Labor convention.

Every trades unionist is familiar with the persisting "tagging" and observations of "Socialists," who are either present at or just outside of many meetings of union men; and with the Socialist literature, preaching class antagonisms, which it is the apparent duty of these men to circulate.

It will not be possible to forget that the assassin of President McKinley was also from Cleveland, and that possibly this assassin may have been a deluded victim of such radical talk and doctrines.

A secret service political agent of a political bureau, dominated by Cleveland influence, told me personally, in the fall of 1900, that he was employed to go about among working men in a secret service capacity, in order to obtain and influence their opinions.

Some of the literature now sent out by this Corporations Auxiliary Company, of Cleveland, is booming the proposed new "Independent Labor League," with which it is apparently in close relation, and states that the parent lodge is now in a position to issue charters to these new independent unions at any point; probably for the purpose of splitting up the present unions and retaining control of the proposed new "conservative" organizations.

Everyone really acquainted with the desires and motives of the great mass of workmen in this country knows that these real wants and motives are expressed by the words "A fair deal and equal opportunity;" and that the class antagonism and hatreds which now exist in many places do not grow naturally out of our American institutions.

Such observers are forced to conclude that those antagonisms have been directly fostered by paid agents, in order to create a great organization which would work together and which could be easily manipulated for political, and even for large speculative purposes (such as the great coal strike), by secret service methods.

These observers are forced to conclude that a great and selfish political conspiracy, practically traitorous to the best American welfare, has been thoroughly organized and working for a number of years; possibly the death of McKinley was an accidental consequence of its deceptive and wicked methods, and apparently since that time it has been trying to neutralize and counteract to some extent its former work, by the use of the same evil methods, while still trying to maintain its control of the political situation.

Political leaders using or profiting by such methods are not safe leaders, and such methods are blood poison in our political system, requiring even more urgent treatment than large doses of "undigested" or "indigestible" securities.

Lucius E. Whiton,

New London, Conn., Aug. 5, 1903.

P. S. August 10, 1903.

Just as the above matter was ready for the press, a reply to my letter of July 21st was received from Mr. J. H. Smith, Manager. This letter (dated August 8th) and the answer, which has been mailed to-day, are here appended, in order to make this bit of sociological evidence complete.

Cleveland, O., Aug. 8, 1903.

Mr. L. E. Whiton, Sec'y,

D. E. Whiton Machine Co.,

New London, Conn.

Dear Sir: Your letter of July 21st, in which you express disapproval of this company's work and especially the secret service feature of it, is before me upon my return from my Eastern and Southern trip.

The business of this company is to assist employers in preventing labor troubles. We can give this help more effectively when the causes, which are likely to result in trouble, are known before this trouble breaks out.

When men secretly organize in oath-bound societies to embarrass and possibly overthrow capital, and also for the deliberate purpose of blackmailing employees, such as is exemplified by the very recent exposures in New York, Chicago and elsewhere, we think the capitalist is warranted in employing men, in secret if necessary, to discover the plans and details of the attack, for the purpose of preventing the same.

At the present time most people believe that property deserves protection from injury and destruction, because all civilized people regard property as beneficial to humanity.

When labor unions teach, as most of them do, that labor only creates all wealth and that all profits to capital are "stealings" from labor, we believe the capitalist is justified in resisting such teachings; because while legitimate labor organizations are, in many cases, useful to the world, most people believe that capital is likewise useful.

If some of the employees of capitalists believe these Socialistic doctrines and try to spread them among those who do not, or if all believe them, may not the capitalist with the highest approval of the best thought of the day, hire men to work side by side with these embryo Socialists and by friendly argument show them the error of their belief and also report to the man who pays them if any are trying by intimidation of fellow workmen and by agitation to undermine his business? There are yet a considerable number of people who believe that an independent workman has a right to work and live, and furthermore, that the owner of a business has a right to have something to say about its operation.

Yours truly,

The Corporations Auxiliary Co.,

By J. H. Smith, V. P.

New London, Conn., Aug. 10, 1903.

The Corporations Auxiliary Company,

Mr. J. H. Smith, Vice-President,

Cleveland, O.

Dear Sir—I have received your letter of August 8th, and note its contents carefully. The questions in debate are large ones and can be finally settled only in the light of complete public knowledge and discussion.

My personal contact with workmen, both union and non-union, has convinced me that the great majority are entirely honest and patriotic, and that they fully respect all rights of property or capital, when these rights are fairly used.

It is not the Labor Union as a whole, but only the hired organizer or radical, and the traveling Socialist agitator (whom somebody must pay for doing it) that teaches antagonisms and stirs up the attacks upon property to which you refer. There are usually a few in each community who will actively follow these false leaders. But the great majority simply listens and does not believe, but does not see through the game far enough to realize that the effect of this kind of agitation is to create a class organization which has been used over and over again, by those who manage its machinery, for ulterior purposes.

This great majority, especially after having joined the union, finds itself entirely helpless, and controlled, often against its better judgment, by a few leaders, some of whom, as you have already admitted, are employed traitors to the cause which they pretend to serve.

I cannot see why any capitalist, or manufacturer, or good American citizen should permit himself to become a party to any underground scheme when open fairness and friendly explanation to all concerned is sufficient to avoid trouble.

My views on these general questions are quite definite, and the questions are now of such importance that I consider myself fully justified in making this whole discussion public in a little pamphlet, of which I shall soon send you a copy.

Yours very truly,

L. E. Whiton, Sec'y.

II.

[Below is a transcript of the circular referred to in the above pamphlet of Mr. Whiton. The circular was received at this office from another and confidential source. As the original had to be returned a copy was taken of it. The circular contains little of importance not contained in the letters from Matt. M. Smith, published in the pamphlet. It is, however, here published in full as an appendix to the pamphlet for the sake of completion. It should also be here added for the sake of still fuller completion that the same as so many other valuable documents, intended to be secret by the capitalist-fakir-spy foes of the working class, this circular was furnished to this office by sturdy, "narrow" and "uncompromising" Socialist Labor Party elements. Whether the Social Democratic alias "Socialist" party bosom friends of the dirty labor fakirs were too sleepy to find out the document, whether they found it out and were made to keep quiet; or whether they found it out, together with so many other of the documents that were published in these columns, sent it and such other documents to their "press," and that "press," being private property and run for "business," simply suppressed it and then, we know not, nor does it matter which.]

THE CIRCULAR.

INDUSTRIAL INSPECTION

As Applied To

Steam Railroads,

Mining Companies,

Rolling Mills,

Telephone and Telegraph Companies

and

Manufacturing Plants

of all kinds.

By

The Corporation Auxiliary Company,

Main Office,

Chamber of Commerce Building,

Cleveland, Ohio.

The Corporations Auxiliary Company makes a specialty of assisting manufacturers, mine operators and other employers of labor, in removing these evils.

INDUSTRIAL INSPECTION.

As applied by The Corporations Auxiliary Company to Steam Railroads, Street and Suburban Railroads, Mining Companies, Rolling Mills, Telephone and Telegraph Companies and Manufacturing Plants of all kinds.

Large Combinations of Labor.

The present large combinations of labor have, within the last few years, de-

manded the constant attention of employers. The troubles arising from organized labor in its present activity, are increasing.

Why Harmonious Settlements Are Usually Impossible.

The greatest difficulty in the way of harmonious settlement of the various questions arising between capital and labor in present industrial conditions, is the presence, and in most cases, the mischievous and often criminal conduct of labor agitators, parasites, and walking delegates. In but few instances would strikes occur, if the management of the laboring men could confer in the beginning.

Non-Union Shops Equally Liable to Strikes.

In numerous strikes, coming under our observation, fully ninety per cent. of the men have gone out without knowing, either the position of the company on the question involved, or the reasons for the strike. This has occurred also in many cases, where the employees were all non-union men, an organization being effected after the strike had been declared. At these times the men have blindly followed the call of a committee who, alas, too frequently have their own selfish ends to promote, even at the expense of hundreds and thousands of satisfied workmen.

Compulsory Methods Used by Organized Labor.

Paid Agitators.

Our System of Inspection.

Another difficulty in the way of a peaceful solution of the many troubles arising where large bodies of men are employed, is the compulsory and arbitrary methods used by organized labor in securing recruits to their ranks. Almost all the national organized bodies of workmen, have paid emissaries who circulate from State to State, from city to city, and from shop to shop, for the purpose of agitating and organizing the men, and inducing employers to bid up the price for labor. Then after organization there comes a demand for increased wages and decreased hours. If these are refused then follows the strike and perhaps the torch. At no time can the employer be assured of exemption from these annoyances and dangers except by the installation of our system of inspection.

Unscrupulous and Nefarious Methods.

An organization once formed in a plant, even of only five or ten per cent. of the workmen, begging its work of pernicious and continuous proselyting, by the most unscrupulous and nefarious methods, usually without the knowledge of the management, and gradually recruits are secured; when if the employer knew what was going on, he could, if he desired, prevent it.

The Final Demand Is For Recognition of the Union and "Card" Shop—A Strike the Usual Result.

After forty or fifty per cent. of the men in an establishment are coerced and forced into the union, it becomes a matter of very little trouble to unionize the balance of the shop, and in the course of a few months a manufacturer finds himself, very frequently to his great surprise confronted by a compact union organization, comprising ninety or ninety-five per cent. of his men. Then comes a demand for a "card" shop, with the result that the balance of the men must either join the union or get out. Unless this is done, a strike is the result; and even if it is done, it is only a question of time when a strike comes anyway, for but very few manufacturers will submit, voluntarily, to the continuous coercion, irritation and dictation of union committees and walking delegates.

No Employer is Free From This Danger—Socialistic Newspapers.

There is no employer of large bodies of labor that is free from this danger. Organized labor activity is now universal, both in skilled and unskilled trades, and during the last few years there has been constant agitation on the subject, both by personal solicitation, and through the thousands and hundreds of thousands of labor journals and Socialistic pamphlets and newspapers scattered all over the country.

Every Employer Should Know Exact Conditions at Once.

This condition makes it manifest to every one that no manufacturer can know too much, or too soon, of what is going on among the workmen in his own particular plant, and yet a comparatively few manufacturers give any thought or attention to the kind of men they employ.

You Know

The importance of keeping your plant running smoothly; of having your labor contented and interested in your success.

Strikes,

and other labor disturbances are all, in greater or less degree, disastrous, expensive any annoying.

How to Prevent Them

is a problem to be solved for your particular plant.

Studying these problems and with your co-operation, applying remedies, is our business.

We should be pleased to interview you on this subject, at your convenience and

Our Expense.

The Corporations Auxiliary Co.,

Main Office,

Chamber of Commerce Building,

Cleveland, O.

How Much Damage One Man Can Do.

A manufacturer in purchasing a new machine would spend thousands of dollars in investigating different styles of machines in order to get the best, and yet hundreds of manufacturers are spending hundreds of thousands of dollars for labor of which they know practically

WOMAN UNDER SOCIALISM

By AUGUST BEBEL

Translated from the Original German of the Thirty-Third Edition

By DANIEL DE LEON

Copyright, 1903, by the NEW YORK LABOR NEWS COMPANY.

PART II.

WOMAN IN THE PRESENT—Continued.

Schoolmistresses, female tailors, milliners, factory girls by the hundreds of thousands and themselves in similar plight. Employers and their subalterns—merchants, mill owners, landlords, etc.—who keep female hands and employees, frequently consider it a sort of privilege to find these women handy to administer to their lusts. Our pious and conservative folks love to represent the rural districts as truly idyllic in point of morality, compared with the large cities and industrial centers. Everyone acquainted with the actual state of things knows that it is not so; and the fact was evidenced by the address, delivered by a baronial landlord of Saxony in the fall of 1889, reported as follows in the papers of the place:

"GEMMA.—Baron Dr. v. Waechter of Roeknitz, recently delivered an address, before a diocesan meeting that took place here, upon the subject of 'Sexual Immorality in Our Rural Communities.' Local conditions were not presented by him in a rosy color. The speaker admitted with great candor that employers, even married ones, are frequently in very intimate relations with their female domestics, the consequences of which were either cancelled with cash, or were removed from the eyes of the world through a *crise*. The fact could, unfortunately, not be cloaked over, that immorality was nursed in these communities, not alone by girls, who, as nurses in cities, had taken in the poison, or by fellows, who made its acquaintance in the military service, but that, said to say, also the cultured classes, through the stewards of manorial estates, and through the officers on the occasions of field manoeuvres, carried lax principles of morality into the country districts. According to Dr. v. Waechter, there are actually here in the country few girls who reach the age of seventeen without having fallen." The open-hearted speaker's love of truth was answered with a social boycott, placed upon him by the officers who felt insulted. The *fas primæ noctis* of the medieval feudal lord continues in another form in these very days of ours.

The majority of prostitutes are thrown into the arms of this occupation at a time when they can hardly be said to have arrived at the age of discretion. Of 2,582 girls, arrested in Paris for the secret practice of prostitution, 1,500 were minors; of 607 others, 487 had been deflowered under the age of twenty. In September, 1894, a scandal of first rank took the stage in Buda-Pest. It appeared that about 400 girls of from twelve to fifteen years fell prey to a band of rich rakes. The sons of our "property and cultured classes" generally consider it an attribute of their rank to seduce the daughters of the people, whom they then leave in the lurch. Only too readily do the trustful daughters of the people, untaught in life and experience, and generally joyless and friendless, fall a prey to the seduction that approaches them in brilliant and seductive guise. Disillusion, then sorrows, finally crime—such are the sequels. Of 1,846,171 live births in Germany in 1891, 172,456 were illegitimate. Only conjure up the volume of worry and heartaches prepared for a great number of these mothers, by the birth of their illegitimate children, even if allowance is made for the many instances when the children are legitimized by their fathers! Suicide by women and infanticide are to a large extent traceable to the destitution and wretchedness in which the women are left when deserted. The trials for child murder cast a dark and instructive picture upon the canvas. To cite just one case, in the fall of 1894, a young girl, who, eight days after her delivery, had been turned out of the lying-in institute in Vienna and thrown upon the streets with her child and without means, and who, in her distress and desperation, killed the infant, was sentenced to be hanged by a jury of Krems in Lower Austria. About the scamp of a father nothing was said. And how often do not similar instances occur! The seduced and outrageously deserted woman, cast helpless into the arms of despair and shame, resorts to extreme measures: she kills the fruit of her womb, is dragged before the tribunals, is sentenced to penitentiary or the gallows. The unconscionable, and actual murderer,—he goes off scot-free; marries, perchance, shortly after, the daughter of a "respectable and honest" family, and becomes a much honored, upright man. There is many a gentleman, floating about in honors and distinctions, who has soiled his honor and his conscience in this manner. Had women a word to say in legislation, much would be otherwise in this direction.

Most cruel of all, as already indicated, is the posture of French legislation, which forbids inquiry after the child's paternity, and, instead, sets up founding asylums. The resolution on the subject, by the Convention of June 23, 1793, runs thus: "The nation takes charge of the physical and moral education of abandoned children. From that moment they will be designated only by the term of orphans. No other designation shall be allowed." Quite convenient for the men, who, thereby, shifted the obligation of the individual upon the collectivity, to the end of escaping exposure before the public and their wives. In all the provinces of the land, orphan and founding asylums were set up. The number of orphans and foundlings ran up, in 1893, to 180,945, of which it was estimated that each tenth child was legitimate, but not wanted by its parents. But no particular care was taken of these children, and the mortality among them was accordingly great. In that year, fully 59 per cent. i. e., more than one-half died during the first year of their lives; 74 per cent. died twelve years of age and under. Accordingly, of every 100 only 22 reached the age of twelve years and over. It is claimed that matters have in the meantime improved in these establishments.

In Austria and Italy also founding asylums were established, and their support assumed by the State. "Ici on fait mourir les enfants" (Here children are killed) is the inscription that a certain King is said to have recommended as fit for founding asylums. In Austria they are gradually disappearing; there are now only eight of them left; also the treatment and care of the children has considerably improved to what it was. In 1888, there were 40,865 children cared for in Austria, including Galicia; of these 10,466 were placed in public institutions, 30,399 under private care, at a joint cost of 1,817,372 florins. Mortality was lighter among the children in the public institutions than among those placed under private care. This was especially the case in Galicia. There, 31.25 per cent. of the children died during the year 1888 in the public establishments, by far more than in the public establishments of other countries; but of those under private care, 84.21 per cent. died,—a veritable mass-murder. It almost looks as though the Polish slaughterhouse system aimed at killing off these poor little wretches as swiftly as possible. It is a generally accepted fact that the percentage of deaths among children born out of wedlock is far higher than among those born in wedlock. In Prussia there died, early in the sixties, during the first year of their lives 18.23 per cent. of children born in wedlock, and 32.11 per cent. of children born out of wedlock, accordingly twice as many of the latter. In Paris there died, 100 children born in wedlock to every 139 born out of wedlock, and in the country districts 215. Italian statistics throw up this picture: Out of every 10,000 live-births, there died—

Legitimate children:	1881.	1882.	1883.	1884.	1885.
One month old	751	741	724	698	696
Two to twelve months	1,027	1,172	980	952	1,083
Illegitimate children:					
One month old	2,092	2,045	2,130	2,107	1,813
Two to twelve months	1,387	1,350	1,437	1,437	1,332

The difference in the mortality between legitimate and illegitimate children is especially noticeable during the first month of life. During that period, the mortality of children born out of wedlock is on an average three times as large as that of those born in wedlock. "Improper

attention during pregnancy, weak delivery and poor care afterwards, are the very simple causes. Likewise do maltreatment and the infamous practice and superstition of "making angels" increase the victims. The number of still-births is twice as large with illegitimate than with legitimate children, due, probably, mainly to the efforts of some of the mothers to bring on the death of the child during pregnancy. The illegitimate children who survive revenge themselves upon society for the wrong done them, by furnishing an extraordinary large percentage of criminals of all degrees.

Yet another evil, frequently met, must also be shortly touched upon. Excessive sexual indulgence is infinitely more harmful than too little. A body, misused by excess, will go to pieces, even without venereal diseases. Impotence, barrenness, spinal affections, insanity, at least intellectual weakness, and many other diseases, are the usual consequences. Temperance is as necessary in sexual intercourse as in eating and drinking, and all other human wants. But temperance seems difficult to youth. Hence the large number of "young old men," in the higher walks of life especially. The number of young and old rakes is enormous, and they require special irritants, excess having deadened and surfeited them. Many, accordingly, lapse into the unnatural practices of Greek days. The crime against nature is to-day much more general than most of us dream of: upon that subject the secret archives of many a Police Bureau could publish frightful information. But not among men only, among women also have the unnatural practices of old Greece come up again with force. Lesbian love, or Sapphism, is said to be quite general among married women in Paris; according to Taxal, it is enormously in practice among the prominent ladies of that city. In Berlin, one-fourth of the prostitutes are said to practice "tribadism"; but also in the circles of our leading dames there are not wanting disciples of Sappho. Still another unnatural gratification of the sexual instinct manifests itself in the violation of children, a practice that has increased greatly during the last thirty years. In France, during 1851-1875, 17,656 cases of this nature were tried. The colossal number of these crimes in France is intimately connected with the two-child system, and with the abstinence of husbands towards their wives. To the German population also we find people recommending Malthusianism, without stopping to think what the sequels will be. The so-called "liberal professions," to whom belong mainly the members of the upper classes, furnish in Germany about 5.6 per cent. of the ordinary criminals, but they furnish 13 per cent. of the criminals indicted for violation of children; and this latter percentage would be still higher were there not in those circles ample means to screen the criminals, so that, probably, the majority of cases remain undiscovered. The revelations made in the eighties by the "Pall Mall Gazette" on the violation of children in England, are still fresh in the public memory.

The moral progress of this our best of all possible worlds is recorded in the below tables for England, the "leading country in civilization." In England there were:—

Year.	Immoral Acts of Violence.	Deaths from Syphilis.	Insane.
1871	230	1,343	39,647
1871	315	1,995	36,755
1881	376	2,334	37,113
1893	466	2,478	74,542
1893	390	76,765
1894	510
Increase since 1871.	82 per cent.	84 per cent.	98 per cent.

A frightful increase this is of the phenomena that point to the rising physical and moral ruin of English society.

The best statistical record of venereal diseases and their increase is kept by Denmark, Copenhagen especially. Here venereal diseases, with special regard to syphilis, developed as follows:—

Year.	Population.	Veneral Diseases.	Of these, Syphilis.
1874	156,000	5,305	836
1879	227,000	6,299	934
1883	290,000	9,325	1,806

Among the personnel of the navy in Copenhagen, the number of venereal diseases increased 1224 per cent. during the period mentioned; in the army and for the same period, 237 per cent. And how stands it in Paris? From the year 1872 to the year 1888, the number of persons treated for venereal diseases in the hospitals Du Midi, de Lourcine and de St. Louis was 118,223, of which 60,458 suffered of syphilis and 57,765 of other venereal affections. Besides these, of the number of outside persons who applied to the clinics of the said three hospitals, there was a yearly average of 16,385 venereals.

We have seen how, as a result of our social conditions, vice, excesses, wrongs and crimes of all sorts are bred. All society is kept in a state of unrest. Under such a state of things woman is the chief sufferer. Numerous women realize this and seek redress. They demand, first of all, economic self-support and independence; they demand that woman be admitted, as well as man, to all pursuits that her physical and mental powers and faculties qualify her for; they demand, especially, admission to the occupations that are designated with the term "liberal professions." Are the efforts in these directions justified? Are they practical? Would they mend matters? These are questions that now crowd forward.

CHAPTER I.

WOMAN'S POSITION AS A BREADWINNER; HER INTELLECTUAL FACULTIES; DARWINISM AND THE CONDITION OF SOCIETY.

The endeavor of woman to secure economic self-support and personal independence has, to a certain degree, been recognized as legitimate by bourgeois society, the same as the endeavor of the workman after greater freedom of motion. The principal reason for such acquiescence lies in the class interests of the bourgeoisie itself. The bourgeoisie, or capitalist class, requires the free and unrestricted purveyance of male and female labor-power for the fullest development of production. In even tempo with the perfection of machinery, and technique; with the subdivision of labor into single acts requiring ever less technical experience and strength; with the sharpening of the competitive warfare between industry and industry, and between whole regions—country against country, continent against continent—the labor-power of woman comes into ever greater demand.

The special causes, from which flows this ever increasing enlistment of woman in ever increasing numbers, have been detailed above in *ex teso*. Woman is increasingly employed along with man, or in his place, because her material demands are less than those of man. A circumstance predicated upon her very nature as a sexual being, forces woman to proffer herself cheaper. More frequently, on an average, than man, woman is subject to physical derangements, that cause an interruption of work, and that, in view of the combination and organization of labor, in force to-day in large production, easily interfere with the steady course of production. Pregnancy and lying-in prolong such pauses. The employer turns the circumstance to advantage, and recoups himself doubly for the inconveniences, that these disturbances put him to, with the payment of much lower wages.

Moreover—as may be judged from the quotation on page 90, taken from Marx's "Capital"—the work of married women has a particular fascination for the employer. The married woman is, as working-woman, much more "attentive and docile" than her unmarried sister. Thought of her children drives her to the utmost exertion of her powers, in order to earn the needed livelihood; accordingly, she submits to many an imposition that the unmarried woman does not. In general, the working-woman ventures only exceptionally to join her fellow-toilers in securing better conditions of work: That raises her value in the eyes of the employer; not infrequently she is even a trump card in his hands against refractory workmen. Moreover, she is endowed with great patience, greater dexterity of fingers, a better developed artistic sense, the latter of which renders her fitter than man for many branches of work.

These female "virtues" are fully appreciated by the virtuous capitalist, and thus, along with the development of industry, woman finds from year to year an ever wider field for her application—but, and this is the determining factor, without tangible improvement to her social condition. If woman labor is employed, it generally sets male labor free. The displaced male labor, however, wishes to live; it proffers itself for lower wages; and the proffer, in turn, re-acts depressingly upon the wages

of the working-woman.

"Lombroso and Ferrero, *id. supra*.

"Die venereischen Krankheiten in Dänemark," Dr. Giesing.

"Report of the Sanitary Commission on the organization of sanitation relative to prostitution in Paris, addressed to the Municipal Council of Paris, 1890.

of the working-woman. The reduction of wages thus turns into an endless screw, that, due to the constant revolutions in the technique of the labor-process, is set rotating all the more swiftly, seeing that the said technical revolutions, through the savings of labor-power, set also female labor free,—all of which again increases the supply of hands. New industries somewhat counteract the constant supply of relatively superfluous labor-power, but is not strong enough to establish lasting improvement. Every rise of wages above a certain measure causes the employer to look to further improvements in his plant, calculated to substitute will-less, automatic mechanical devices for human hands and human brain. At the start of capitalist production, hardly any but male labor confronted male labor in the labor-market; now sex is played against sex, and, further along the line, age against age. Woman displaces man, and, in her turn, woman is displaced by younger folks and child-labor. Such is the "Moral Order" in modern industry.

The endeavor, on the part of employers, to extend the hours of work, with the end in view of pumping more surplus values out of their employees, is made easier to them, thanks to the slighter power of resistance possessed by women. Hence the phenomenon that, in the textile industries, for instance, in which women frequently constitute far more than one-half of the total labor employed, the hours of work are everywhere longest. Accustomed from home to the idea that her work is "never done," woman allows the increased demands to be placed upon her without resistance. In other branches, as in the millinery trade, the manufacture of flowers, etc., wages and hours of work deteriorate through the taking home of extra tasks, at which the women sit till midnight, and even later, without realizing that they thereby only compete against themselves, and, as a result, earn in a sixteen-hour workday what they would have made in a regular ten-hour day. In what measure female labor has increased in the leading industrial countries may appear from the below sets of tables. We shall start with the leading industrial country of Europe,—England. The last census furnishes this picture:

Year.	Total Persons Employed.	Males.	Females.
1871	11,593,466	8,270,186	3,323,280
1881	11,187,664	7,783,646	3,403,918
1891	12,893,434	8,883,254	4,010,230

Accordingly, within twenty years, the number of males employed increased 613,068, or 7.9 per cent.; the number of females, however, by 692,930, or 20.9 per cent. It is especially to be observed in this table that, in 1881, a year of crisis, the number of males employed fell off by 486,540, and the number of females increased by 80,638. The increase of female at the cost of male persons employed is thus emphatically brought to light. But within the increasing number of female employees itself a change is going on: younger forces are displacing the older. It transpired that in England, during the years 1881-1891, female labor-power of the age 10 to 45 had increased, while that above 45 had decreased.

Industries in which female exceeded considerably the number of male labor, were mainly the following:

Industries.	Females.	Males.
Manufacture of woman's clothing	415,961	4,470
Cotton industry	332,784	213,231
Manufacture of worsted goods	69,629	40,482
Manufacture of shawls	52,943	2,177
Manufacture of hosiery	30,887	18,290
Lace industry	21,716	13,000
Tobacco industry	15,880	13,000
Bookbinding	14,249	11,487
Manufacture of gloves	9,199	2,756
Teachers	144,393	50,028

Again the wages of women are, in almost all branches, considerably lower than the wages of men for the same hours. In the year 1883, the wages in England were for men and women as follows, per week:—

Industries.	Males.	Females.
Flax and jute factories	26 Marks	10-11 Marks
Manufacture of glass	38 " "	12 " "
Printing	32-36 " "	10-12 " "
Carpet factories	26 " "	15 " "
Weaving	26 " "	16 " "
Shoemaking	29 " "	15 " "
Dyeing	23-29 " "	12-13 " "

Similar differences in wages for men and women are found in the Post Office service, in school teaching, etc. Only in the cotton industry in Lancashire did both sexes earn equal wages for equal hours of work in the tending of power looms.

In the United States, according to the census of 1890, there were 2,652,157 women, of the age of ten years and over engaged in productive occupations:—594,510 in agriculture, 631,988 in manufacture, 59,304 in trade and transportation, and 1,366,235 in personal service, of whom 939,910 were servants. Besides that, there were 46,800 female farmers and planters, 5,135 Government employes, 155,000 school teachers, 13,182 teachers of music, 2,061 artists. In the city of New York, 10,961 working-women participated in strikes during the year 1890, a sign that working-women in the United States, like their European fellow-female wage slaves, understand the class distinctions that exist between Capital and Labor. In what measure women are displacing the men in a number of industries in the United States, also is indicated by the following item from the "Levest. Journ." in 1893:

"One of the features of the factory towns of Maine is a class of men that may be termed 'housekeepers.' In almost every town, where much factory work is done, these men are to be found in large numbers. Whoever calls shortly before noon will find them, with aprons tied in front, washing dishes. At other hours of the day they can be seen scrubbing, making the beds, washing the children, tidying up the place, or cooking. Whether any of them attend to the sewing and mending of the family we are not quite sure. These men attend to the household for the simple reason that their wives can earn more in the factory than they, and it means a saving of money if the wife goes to work."

The closing sentence should read: "Because the women work for wages that the men can no longer work for, and the employer therefore prefers women,"—which happens in Germany also. The towns here described are the so-called "she-towns," already more fully referred to.

In France, there were, in 1893, not less than 15,958 women engaged in the railroad service (in the offices and as ticket agents); in the provincial

On this subject, the law for protection of working-women, adopted by the people of the canton of Zurich in August, 1894, with 49,900 votes against 12,531, contains an excellent provision. The law makes it a penal offense for working-women to take from the shop, where they are employed during the day, work to be done at home. This law goes further than any other known to us for the protection of working-women. It also prescribes an extra pay of 25 per cent. for the extra hours fixed by law: the most effective means to check the evil of overwork.

The census of 1890 gives 3,914,571 women of at least 10 years of age engaged in gainful occupations in the United States; that is 17.0 per cent. of the total population engaged in gainful occupations, and 12.7 per cent. of the female population of that country. According to the census of 1900 there were 5,310,912 women of at least 10 years of age engaged in gainful occupations in the United States; that is 18.2 per cent. of the total population engaged in gainful occupations, and 14.3 per cent. of the female population of the country. Classified by kinds of occupation, the census of 1900 shows: 977,336 women engaged in agricultural pursuits; 430,576 in professional service; 2,093,449 in domestic and personal service; 503,347 in trade and transportation; 1,313,204 in manufacturing and mechanical pursuits.—THE TRANSLATOR.

For the sake of verification, and especially with the view of avoiding any serious discrepancy that might arise from a translation back into English from a German translation of the original English, an attempt was made to secure a transcript of the original of the above interesting article. A serious difficulty was encountered. Besides the indefinite date, the abbreviated form, in which the German text gives the name of the Maine paper quoted from the "Levest. Journ."—and as reproduced in this translation, forced a recourse to guess work. The nearest that any Maine paper, given in the American Newspaper Directory, came to the abbreviation was the "Lewiston Evening Journal." The below correspondence tells its tale: "Daily People, 2 1/2 and 6 New Road street, Lewiston, Me., Nov. 18th, 1903.

"Editor 'Lewiston Evening Journal,' Lewiston, Me.:
"Dear Sir:—The within is a translation from the German of what purports to be a German translation of an article, or part of an article, that appeared in the 'Journal.' The only date given is 1893.

"I shall esteem it a favor if you will let me have an accurate transcript of the passage in the original. If the 'Journal' had such an article, the enclosed re-translation back into English may help to identify the article. Thanking you in advance,
Yours truly,
"Ed. The People."

"D. DeLeon, Esq., New York City:
"My Dear Sir:—I regret that I can not find the article of which the enclosed is a transcript.

"I have no doubt of its correctness, for such is frequently the case in cities like these, where the woman is the six-loom weaver, and by her deftness is the better wage-earner.
"Very truly yours,
"Arthur G. Staples.
"Managing Ed. 'Lewiston Journal.'"

Though success was not complete, the letter of the managing editor of the "Lewiston Journal" is a corroboration of the substance of the passage quoted.—THE TRANSLATOR.

Post Office there were 5,383 women employed; as telegraphists and telephonists, 9,805; and in the State Savings Banks 425. Altogether the number of women in France engaged in gainful occupations, inclusive of agriculture and personal service, was, in 1893, in round figures 4,415,000. Of 3,858 decisions, rendered by the trades courts of Paris, not less than 1,674 concerned women.

To what extent female labor was applied in the industries of Switzerland as early as 1886, is told by the following figures of the "Bund":

Industries.	Males.	Females.
Silk industry	11,771	51,552
Cotton industry	18,320	23,846
Linen and half-linen industry	5,553	5,232
Embroidery	15,724	21,000

Altogether, there were then in the textile industries, 103,452 women engaged, besides 52,838 men; and the "Bund" expressly declares that there is hardly an occupation in Switzerland in which women are not found.

In Germany, according to the census of occupations of 1882, of the 7,340,789 persons engaged in gainful occupations, 1,506,745 were women or 20.6 per cent. The proportions were, among others, these:—

Industries	Males.	Females.	Per Cent.
Commercial occupations	536,221	181,286	25.2
Service and restaurants	172,841	141,407	45.0
Messenger and day laborers	9,212	3,265	26.2
Spinning	69,272	100,450	60.0
Weaving	336,400	155,396	32.0
Embroidery	42,819	31,010	42.0
Lace and crochet work	5,676	30,204	84.0
Lace manufacture	13,526	17,478	56.4
Bookbinding and paste-board box-making	31,312	10,409	25.0
Paper manufacture	37,683	20,847	35.6
Tobacco working	64,477	48,919	43.1
Clothes-making, etc.	279,978	440,370	61.2

To these must be added 2,248,900 women engaged in agriculture, 1,282,400 female servants, also school teachers, artists, Government office-holders, etc.

According to the census of occupations for 1875-1882, the following was the result. There were employed in industrial occupations in the German Empire:—

Year.	Total Persons Employed.	Total Persons Employed.	Total Persons Employed.	Total Persons Employed.	Total Persons Employed.
1875	5,463,856	1,110,095	3,453,357	703,574	2,010,499
1882	5,815,030	1,506,743	3,487,073	989,422	2,327,966
Increase in	351,183	396,648	33,716	283,548	317,966
or 6.4 per cent.	or 35 per cent.	or 1 per cent.	or 40.2 per cent.	or 15.8 per cent.	or 26.1 per cent.

According to these figures, not only did female labor increase by 35 per cent. during the period of 1875-1882, while male labor increased only by 6.4 per cent., but the great increase of female labor, especially in small industries, tells the tale that only by dint of a strong application of female labor, with its correspondingly low wages, can small production keep itself afloat, for a while.

In 1882, there were to every 1,000 persons engaged in industry 176 women; in commerce and transportation, 190; in agriculture, 312.

In 1892, the number of women, employed in the factories of Germany, were of the following ages:

Age.	Number Employed.
12-14	3,597
14-16	63,735
16-21	223,638
Over 21	337,499
Besides (for Reuss younger line without designation of ages)	6,197
	639,866

In the Kingdom of Saxony, notably the most industrial portion of Germany, the number of working-women employed in the factories was:—

Year.	16 Years and Over.	12 to 16.
1883	72,716	8,477
1892	110,555	13,333
Increase	37,839	4,856
	52 per cent.	57 per cent.

As a result of the new factory regulations, which limited the hours of female labor, between the ages of 14 to 16, to 10 a day, and wholly forbade factory work to children of school age, the number of working-women between the ages of 14 to 16 sank to 6,763, and of girls between the ages of 12 to 14, sank by 6,334. The strongest increase in the number of working-women, as far as we are informed, took place in the tobacco industry of Baden. According to the reports of the Baden Factory Inspector, Dr. Woerishoffer, the number of persons engaged in the said industry and their subdivisions by sexes, was as follows:

Year.	Total Number Employed.	Males.	Females.
1882	12,192	5,163	6,999
1892	24,056	7,952	16,124
Increase	11,864	2,789	9,125
		or 52.8 per cent.	or 130 per cent.

This increase in the number of female tobacco workers, denotes the sharpening competitive struggle, that has developed during the last ten years in the German tobacco as well as many other industries, and which compels the ever intenser engagement of the cheaper labor of woman.

And, as in the rest of Germany, so likewise in Baden the industrial development in general shows a larger increase of female than of male workers. Within a year, it recorded the following changes:—

Year.	Males.	Females.
1892	79,218	35,538
1893	84,470	39,537
Increase	5,252	2,939
	or 6.6 per cent.	or 8.3 per cent.

Of the working-women over 16 years of age, 28.27 were married. In the large ammunition factory at Spandau, there were, in 1

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SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.

In 1888.....2,000
In 1892.....21,157
In 1896.....36,564
In 1900.....34,181
In 1902.....53,617

A RUSSIAN MARTYR.

The story that comes from St. Petersburg, via London, concerning a Caplain in the army who, at the recent strikes in Kieff, countermanded the order of his superior to fire on the strikers, whereupon he was immediately arrested, court-martialed and sentenced to death, reads like a page of days when religions are crystallized into shape at the heat of deeds of astounding abnegation, purity of purpose, singleness of design, and unswerving rectitude. The incident is a symptom of the times.

For generations people have been singing the psalms of the psalmist and doing the acts of fends; preaching the admonitions of the Prophets and indulging in the ways of the wicked; professing Christianity and practicing devilry. The days of this generation promise to end the hypocrisy. A keener spirit, awakened by fuller knowledge, is rising to demand of man that he practice what he preaches; that he conform his conduct with his professions—and insisting that he do at the cost of being whipped out of the temple of humanity that he desecrates with his criminal conduct.

Whatever the reason may or may not have been at one time for looking upon the maxim "Do unto others as you would be done unto" as beyond human reach, that time has passed. The maxim can be practiced to-day. To-day there is wealth enough producible for all. No longer need any part of humanity pine and serve as foot-stools for some other part of humanity to rise above the brute. The present material economic facts have created an atmosphere that is suffocating the Philistine and that is producing a higher sense of duty. Simultaneously the martyr to the sublimer human aspirations is fructifying the ground with his blood. The Russian Caplain in question knew that his devotion to the higher law meant certain death. He was not earthly wise, but he was pure. When he ordered the troops not to fire upon their "poor, starving brothers" he was the mouth-piece to the spiritual breath of the material conditions that have given rise to Socialism.

Not forever, nor for long will the spiritual breath and the physical power, needed to hurl Enthroned Crime from its place of power, stand divorced, bringing on death to the dislocated members.

THERE IS PROGRESS.

There's none ever feared that the truth should be heard
But them whom the truth wad
Indite.

Readers of The People have seen in the correspondence column the letter of Helen A. Gray, Librarian of the New London, Ct., Public Library, to a citizen of that city who presented to the library three works of Karl Marx—"Capital," "Wage, Labor and Capital" and "The Paris Commune"—and Engels' "Socialism From Utopia to Science." The Librarian informed the donor that the "Book Committee, upon looking through the books," declined to accept them, and they were returned.

The four works donated to the New London Public Library are classic works; what is more, they are classic works produced by a Movement that is now avowedly respected as the most gigantic and significant of all ages. Even those who may disagree with it, if at all informed, concede the point; and they recognize that it is a Movement that cannot be ignored and must be confronted. Would not the conclusion be that an institution styling itself a public library, "intended to disseminate and cultivate knowledge" would be glad of the acquisition? Socialism is either right or wrong. If wrong, is it not well that it be thoroughly understood? All this notwithstanding, the New London Public Library

rejects the books. What does that mean? Whatever it may mean in detail, it records progress. Progress? Is it a recognizing of progress to check information? Let's see.

What was the general attitude in Connecticut herself about two generations ago when Abolitionism, the Movement then on the rise and, like Socialism, destined within shortly to sweep the country, was struggling to make itself heard, and was beating its way against a storm of interested prejudice and defamation? Comparing the experience of Abolitionism then with that of Socialism to-day, it will be easy to tell whether progress has been made or not.

Events ever cluster around a name that typifies the time. The early attitude of Connecticut towards Abolitionism is best typified by that State's conduct towards one of her noblest daughters—Prudence Crandall. When it did not yet "pay" in Connecticut to be just to the negro, Prudence Crandall taught negro children, and for this act of patriotic humanity she was persecuted out of the State: Prudence Crandall was boycotted with vindictive cruelty, even water was denied her! The intellectual and moral predecessors of the "patriotic bevy" that presides to-day over the Public Library of New London were ready to commit homicide upon a defenceless woman for no other reason than that their standard of morality lagged behind hers.

Is there no progress? To-day the donor of the Socialist books is not hounded from house and home out of New London; his life is left unassailed; only the printed matter that he donates is refused. Compared to the fate that a few centuries ago would have been meted out by the ruling powers, both to the gift and the giver of a new idea—both being certain to be burned at the stake; compared even with the experience of Prudence Crandall in that very Connecticut; who will deny that there is progress registered?

"SURPRISES."

"When certain of the Omaha comrades were accused of being De Leonists, to my surprise, instead of denying the charge, they frankly confessed it."—Carl D. Thompson in "Seattle Socialist," Aug. 9, 1903.

Several months ago in answer to some correspondents, together with some silly articles in the privately owned press of the so-called Socialist, alias Social-Democratic party, we had occasion to place that Movement upon the dissecting table. The facts, thrown up by the dissecting knife and revealed by the lens, showed that the leaders of that Movement—some of them visionary men, others the chums of the labor fakirs—while bent upon mischief, were accomplishing good. Giddy-headedly venturing where angels dared not tread, and supplied with infinitely more cash to keep agitators on the field, they had facilities infinitely greater than the Socialist Labor Party to reach infinitely larger crowds. This notwithstanding, they were but digging the grave of their own visionariness or their own malign purpose of smashing the S. L. P. Obedient to a law they could not escape, try as they might, their work consisted mainly in introducing the S. L. P. to the thoughtful and alone valuable portion of their audiences. These thoughtful elements were bound to do their own thinking, and the result would inevitably be that they would cast off the "broad" and "tolerant" counterfeit Socialist concern as a fraud or an insanity and develop into the thorough-paced "narrowness," "intolerance," etc., for which the S. L. P. is known and which virtues have been summed up in the term "DeLeonism." In short, they would graduate into the S. L. P.

The analysis then made was even then amply justified from the facts in existence, and the theory that flowed from them. But not all categories of facts have the same weight with all sorts of persons. A hint, to a gentleman, is enough; a man of coarser fibre needs a box on the ear to understand. The fact of the earth being round was enough for a Columbus to conclude that land lay westward; logic of wool and other grosser evidence were needed to enlist the support of a Ferdinand. In economics, the law of exchange value was ample to reveal to a Marx the downfall of capitalism; to the less sagacious masses, nothing short of the physical breakdown of their illusions could clarify their mind's eye. In the matter of the so-called Socialist, alias Social Democratic movement, Mr. Thompson above quoted stands in the shoes of the man whose economic illusions must first tumble down upon his skull before he knows better; of the man who had first to see and touch the logs

of foreign timber before he could accept the conclusion of the premises which he himself did not question touching the roundness of the earth; finally he stands also in the shoes of the man with whom gentle hints won't do, but whose ears must first be soundly cuffed.

One may well imagine Mr. Thompson's surprise—he need not assure the public of it—at the frank pride with which "certain of his Omaha comrades" are now admitting their S. L. Pism. There is for his poor opinion of human nature, that it can long remain duped by lies and slanders or captivated by tomfoolery, still ruder surprises in store.

THE SUICIDE CLUB.

In the course of last week's issues The People published two articles on the strike or threatened strike on the New York, New Haven & Hartford Railroad. Of the two articles one was an editorial giving the detailed and exact figures of the branches and numbers of men involved in the threatened strike, and of the changed scale of wages effected by the settlement. The other article was a letter from a New Haven trainman confirming and supplementing the information contained in the first.

From these two sources the following facts appear of record:

1. The branches of the service involved were the conductors and the brakemen.
2. These forces are divided into shifts, "tricks" in railroad parlance—a first, a middle and a third "trick."
3. Before the settlement, the conductors on all the three "tricks" received \$2.75.
4. After the settlement, the conductors on the first "tricks" received \$2.80; the conductors on the middle "tricks" received \$2.85; and the conductors on the third "tricks" received \$2.90—that is, an increase of 5, 10 and 15 cents respectively.
5. Before the settlement, the brakemen on all the three "tricks" received \$1.95.
6. After the settlement, the brakemen on the first "tricks" received \$2.20; the brakemen on the middle "tricks" received \$2.25; and the brakemen on the third "tricks" received \$2.30—that is an increase of 25, 30 and 35 cents respectively.
7. Before the settlement there was 1 conductor to each "trick."
8. After the settlement, there remained, of course, the 1 conductor to each "trick."
9. Before the settlement there were 4 brakemen to each "trick."
10. After the settlement there were only 3 brakemen to each "trick."

That much for the facts and figures that appear of record in the settlement. Now for the figures and facts that flow therefrom.

1. The capitalist, as was pointed out in the previous editorial, and without increasing his arduous labors of doing nothing, has an increased gain on all the "tricks" and crews of \$133.95 a day.
2. The conductors, likewise without any increase of work, have an increase each ranging from 5 to 15 cents apiece.
3. The brakemen, differently from the conductors and still more differently from the capitalists, suffer the complete decapitation of one of their members, and while the survivors receive in wages an increase ranging from 25 to 35 cents, they have to do intenser work, the work of their decapitated fellow workmen.
4. Seeing that the surviving 3 brakemen of the former 4 on each "trick" have now to do the work of their decapitated brother, it follows that the volume of intensified labor thrown upon these survivors is one-fourth more than before.
5. Seeing that the wages received by the decapitated brother was \$1.95, it follows that translated into money, one-fourth of his work was nearly 49 cents.
6. Seeing that the survivors now receive for that increase of one-third of work 25, instead of that 49 cents, on the first "tricks"; 30, instead of that 49 cents, on the middle "tricks"; and 35, instead of that 49 cents, on the third "tricks," it follows that, individually, they are now squeezed out of 24, 19 and 14 cents respectively; and that the aggregate of all these squeezings for all the "tricks" and crews, for the membership of the Union, represents the amount of increased unpaid labor, increased marrow and bone whacked out of the working class.

Supplementing these conclusions and the facts they flow from with the further fact that the affliction of these decapitations and intensified labor was inflicted upon the union of trainmen under the presidency of a committee of their organization, who drew \$5 a day, and that, all told, cost the working class about \$2,000, the question comes, Who was "settled" by the "settlement"?

Robert Louis Stevenson has a story entitled the "Suicide Club." People who joined it paid \$40. The amount was mainly pocketed by the President, who, by means of a pack of cards designated each evening the member who was to die and the one who was to kill him. The President did a good business until one of the members put the quietus upon him and broke up the club. What, if not a "Suicide Club," is an organization such as that of these rakemen; and what else are the labor fakirs, the presiding geniuses of these bodies, but imitations of the scamp President in Stevens' story?

SOLIDIFYING THE LABOR VOTE IN LABOR'S INTERESTS.

Every year, as election approaches, certain phenomena occur in the political arena with the regularity of clockwork. These phenomena are always the same in character and purpose; yet, despite this, they deceive the unwary and lead to the undoing of men whom experience should have taught to know better. For this reason these phenomena must be dwelt with as often as they occur, hence this analysis of them.

Among these phenomena is the old, old one presented by a handful of "labor leaders" who organize an "independent labor party" for the alleged purpose of "solidifying the labor vote in labor's interests."

The modus operandi of these "labor leaders" is very simple. With or without the consent of their unions, and very often with no other basis of representation than that afforded by an organization that exists only on paper, these "labor leaders" get together in some obscure locality and form their "independent labor party." At the first glance it would naturally seem that, being an "independent labor party" the next step of these "labor leaders" would be the nomination of "independent labor" candidates. Such is not the case, however, for these "labor leaders" proceed to declare that their "independent labor party" will "support candidates for office who give a guarantee of fidelity to labor's interests." In other words, the "independent labor party" of these "labor leaders" is but an adjunct to the two capitalist parties, formed for the purpose of destroying if possible the genuine party of labor, the Socialist Labor Party, "by solidifying the labor vote" in the interests of capital and not in the interests of labor.

That this conclusion is true, an examination of the personality of these "labor leaders" and the results of their "independent" duly-rewarded hangers-on of the capitalist parties, or disappointed office seekers, who start "independent" movements for the purpose of forcing recognition in the distribution of patronage. They are more bent on securing appointments than they are in advancing the interests of labor. In this many of them succeed. As a result of the formation of their "independent labor party," the coveted appointment is secured by one of these "labor leaders," often to the bitter disappointment of the others, who "squel" and expose the scheme, or else revive it for their own benefit at the next election.

After the above analysis it becomes apparent that there is only one way of truly solidifying the labor vote in the interests of labor, and that is by organizing the working class economically and politically according to the class-conscious lines advocated by the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance and the Socialist Labor Party. Victory will then no longer perch on Capital's brow, but "independent labor party" will prove. They are mainly petty politicians, and are will grace that of Labor.

Those workmen who believe that the working class should use its influence to secure the election and appointment of union men to office in a capitalist government would do well to read the following:

"INDIANA GOVERNOR FIRES" A POLICE COMMISSIONER.

"Remove Him Because He Would Not Stop Labor Disturbances During a Strike in Marion—Employer in His Place."

"Indianapolis, Aug. 16.—Governor Durbin to-day removed Police Commissioner D. C. Reardon of Marion for failure to protect the business men of that city during the recent labor troubles, and this was followed at once by the appointment of Marx Swazey, a member of the Employers' Council, to fill the vacancy. Reardon is a member of the Glass Bottle Blowers' Union and was appointed at the instance of organized labor."

"A strike in the Gemmer Engine Works and the National Sweeper Co.'s plant has been in progress for two months and the strikers have been congregating around the plants each evening and insulting the non-union men who are employed by the two companies. The Employers' Council protested, but the

Police Board refused to stop the assembling of the strikers and their sympathizers, and the city was on the verge of anarchy. The Employers' Council then appealed to the Governor for protection."

The government must be a working class government, run from top to bottom by workingmen for workingmen. It must be Socialist, not capitalist, to be of working class benefit.

The revolutionary socialist movement of Russia is developing great strength, so much so that the Minister of the Interior, M. de Plehve, has found it necessary to create a so-called independent labor party in order to seize the guidance of the working class movement. This is made clear in the current number of the Prussian periodical, European, which contains an article by Professor Ernest Tarboureich of the College of Social Sciences, who was recently entrusted with a scientific mission to Asia.

Tarboureich finds that Russia is in a most serious condition from a social and economic standpoint. The best informed men whom he met confessed that they constantly apprehend the gravest events. The death struggle that is being waged between the past and the future in the empire of the Czar is daily becoming more fierce and sanguinary. The press that is circulated there is full of intelligence concerning strikes in the Caucasus, Sebastopol, Odessa, Kieff and other places. The whole of South and Southwest Russia is disorganized. Tarboureich deals with the part played by M. de Plehve, Russian Minister of the Interior, in the events which have well nigh brought to a standstill commercial and industrial life and traffic in the naphtha districts of the Black Sea ports and all along the Southern and Southeastern railways. He finds that the Minister of the Interior, through certain agents, has tried to seize the guidance of the working-class movement by the creation of a so-called independent labor party, which has been used as a means for dividing and sowing dissensions among "the masses." One of its effects has been to create confusion and friction between the provincial authorities and those located at St. Petersburg.

That de Plehve should have to resort to such a measure reflects the progressive and incorruptibility of the Russian revolutionary movement. It also shows that, like the capitalists of this country, with their Gompers and Mitchell lieutenants, de Plehve recognizes the necessity of dominating and guiding the working class movement, while employing all the powers of state in the forcible repression of that portion of it that is not amenable to either his machinations or authority.

Success to the Russian revolutionary movement and all working class movements where such measures are necessary.

The Progressive Farmer, of Raleigh, N. C., in its issue of August 18, says: "On July 22d, the Tobacco Trust raised the price of American cigarettes in England 50 per cent. Two weeks later it reduced the price of its raw material in North Carolina more than 50 per cent.—for later reports more than confirm our last week's conjecture as to this. The Tobacco Trust is powerful, but in America there is yet a mightier power. One of these days the Trust, by its greed and oppression, is to bring itself into deadly and unequal combat with the people."

This item is worthy of notice as it presents an opportunity to state some facts and conclusions of importance.

In the evolution of this country, the manufacturing, commercial and financial interests of this country have gained political and economic ascendancy over its agricultural interests. The epoch-making campaign of 1896 made it plain that the agrarians of this country had ceased to dominate its industry, commerce, finance, and legislation; and that hereafter the capitalists' interests which they represented would rule, with the agrarians as part of the ruled.

The agrarians have not, of course, accepted this reversal of affairs as a cold, dispassionate recognition of the evolution of the country would compel them to. Their economic interests will not admit of that. Those interests still require that they regard themselves as they formerly were, that is, as they were when they constituted the great bulk of the population, the backbone of the country, and were actually in every sense what they are not now, viz.: the people.

Thus it comes that the Progressive Farmer, unmindful of the capitalist development of the country, still hugs the delusion that the day will come in which "the trust by its greed and oppression, is to bring itself into deadly and unequal combat with the people"—that is, the middle class farmers.

The day on which the trust will meet the people "in deadly and unequal combat" will come when the working class, whose historic mission it is to dominate industry, commerce, finance and politics in accord with capitalist evolution, decides to settle the Trust problem by socializing the Trust.

Stuyvesant Fish, president of the Illinois Central Railroad, says mergers are logical growths and are here to stay. Fish is right about mergers being logical growths, but he is not right about their stay. Owing to the logical growth of which mergers are the outcome, Socialism will evolve and the mergers will, in consequence, disappear in it.

"AGENTS CONSERVATEURS."

The two documents, published elsewhere in this issue, are of priceless value to every serious man now in the Movement, or who contemplates joining. The second—the secret circular of The Corporations Auxiliary Company—supplements the first and calls for no warning to understand its import. Not so with the first—the pamphlet entitled "Machine Politics and Organized Labor." Being a pamphlet, issued by Mr. Lucius E. Whiton, a capitalist who is grooming himself for Mayor of New London, Ct., the reader is under strong temptations to scrutinize the writer's motives. To do so, however, would be to miss the point. It matters not whether Mr. Whiton is an innocent capitalist of the childish breed that imagines there is an occult alchemy in the American Eagle, potent enough to counteract and upset the laws of political economy and sociology; or whether the gentleman is one of the up-to-date capitalists with guile, a sort of Connecticut "Golden Rule Jones"; nor yet whether he is a cross between these two extremes. All that, together with the motives for his issuing the pamphlet, is of comparatively little moment. The important thing are the facts that the documents embodied in the pamphlet establish beyond doubt, to wit, that capitalist concerns have their paid agents in the unions—among officers, among delegates and among the rank and file—to safeguard the interests of capital.

It is not yesterday, nor the day before that the Socialist Labor Party sounded the note of warning on the "friendly relations" existing between the "labor leaders" and capitalist magnates, or on the significance of the conduct of some men of the rank and file. When these alleged unionists were regularly seen to get political jobs; when they were seen even to talk on the "conservative" side, which means on the side of capital, it was obvious that they were paid for the work, that they were agents of the capitalist class. It followed that the organizations thus poisoned by them could not choose but stand in the way of progress. The hypodermic injections of "conservatism" that these bodies were subjected to had to lame their activity in the cause of Labor. All this was obvious. But the exact facts were not known. Mr. Whiton's pamphlet furnishes them. The letters he publishes of the Corporations Auxiliary Company now give in detail the facts formerly only surmised.

These revelations are timely. To the intelligent reader they settle once for all the mooted question of tactics with regard to organization: they settle the question of "broadness"; they settle the question of "intolerance"; they point to the necessity of S. L. P. methods.

The European spy system of "agents provocateurs," fire-eaters who incite to riot, is played out; these gentry can now be easily detected. The American system of laming the striking arm of the working class by means of paid agents who talk "conservatism" is something new. It seems more insidious and it is; but here also the toad carries a precious jewel on his head.

Different from "agent provocateur," what might be called the "agent conservateur" points to correct tactics. The tolerance, once thought advisable towards ill constructed labor bodies, proves itself only a screen for these "agents conservateurs." Where a labor body is correctly constructed, the "agent conservateur" can not open his mouth without proclaiming his mission. Impossible it is to keep these spies out. Capitalism controls wealth enough to bribe individuals in all Labor bodies. Let it bribe! Its spies can find out nothing, for there is nothing to be "found out": a properly constructed Labor body carries on its agitation and education above board, in the open: its premises, its conclusions, its aspirations are all openly proclaimed as becomes the nobility of its mission: the capitalist would but waste his money in spies to find out what he could find out without, what the Labor body is anxious that all should know, and know well. It is not as a spy that these lackeys or lieutenants of capitalism can serve their masters. It is as misleaders of Labor. This is serious, but in this all properly constructed Labor bodies can foil the foe. Unyielding "intolerance" for "conservatism" disarms the "agent conservateur." Nothing else can; while that smokes the vermin to death, and alone preserves free the striking, that is the educational and organizing arm of the Social Revolution.

In Chicago, a number of manufacturers are leaving the city, while a number of others threaten to leave, in order to escape labor troubles. They are migrating, with their plants, to other localities, mainly small rural ones. These manufacturers are actuated by an erroneous conception of present economic conditions. The conflict between capital and labor is waged wherever the antagonistic relations of capital and labor prevail. Every little hamlet or village that has a plant or a factory of any kind becomes the scene of labor troubles. Many a little place, otherwise unknown in the history of the nation, has become famous as the scene of some great industrial battle, such as Wardner, Idaho, or Coeur d'Alene, and just now Victor, Colo. Should these manufacturers migrate to a locality free from labor troubles that locality will, by that very act, become transformed. It will be inoculated with the virus of capitalism and display the unavoidable results as a consequence. The class struggle cannot be avoided by shifting the scene of action. It cannot be dodged. It must be fought out and settled.



UNCLE SAM AND BROTHER JONATHAN.

UNCLE SAM—From what you say about the old parties, I judge that you will not vote for either.

BROTHER JONATHAN—Neither I will.

U. S.—Then you will vote for the Socialist Labor Party?

B. J. (testily)—No, sir!

U. S.—Why not?

B. J.—Because I have no guarantee that they will not sell me out, just as the Republicans and Democrats have done regularly.

U. S.—You haven't?

B. J.—No. Have you any guarantee that, if elected, the Socialists will not be bribed as the Republicans and Democrats are, and sell us out?

U. S.—Oh, I see.

B. J.—You agree with me?

U. S.—No, I don't know of a single Democratic or Republican politician who was ever bribed—

B. J.—What, you don't?

U. S.—No, I don't know of a single Democratic or Republican politician who was ever bribed and thereupon sold out to the working class.

B. J.—To the working class???

U. S.—Yes. Only such selling out as is in favor of the working class is worth considering.

B. J.—I don't know either of any of them who has ever sold out to the working class.

U. S.—And that is the only point to consider. They may be bribed among themselves, and may sell out to one another, but they never sell out to the working class. They are unbribable in that respect.

B. J.—Guess that's so.

U. S.—Consequently, for the same reason that they don't, the Socialists won't. The Democrats and Republicans represent the capitalist class, and never sell out that class; the Socialist Labor Party men represent the working class, and they won't sell out that class. That is my guarantee. Do you want any better?

B. J.—No. But is that all?

U. S.—I have another guarantee. By the constitution of the Socialist Labor Party, no candidate can run for office unless he places his resignation into the hands of his organization. The moment his conduct is not approved he can be yanked out of office. Do you want more guarantee than that?

B. J.—That's complete.

U. S.—With the old parties, once elected, the official is boss. With us he remains our servant.

Prof. Goldwin Smith, of Toronto, Canada, in expressing his opinions on conditions in this country, declares, "War seems to have commenced between capital and labor, which threatens serious disturbances in the future."

To others who are not professors this war is not a thing that seems to be but really is. And, further, it is not only commencing now, but has been culminating ever since capitalism began, with the result that its present day aspect is so foreboding as to awaken even so obtuse a professor as Goldwin Smith to a realization of its presence.

Smith, continuing further in his expression of opinion, speculates upon the prospects of peace. Dismissing courts and compulsory arbitration he considers what he terms "The admission of workmen to any sort of partnership with capital, involving control of trade and inspection of books," and concludes that this admission "seems out of the question; capital which runs the risk and which alone is qualified to guide the enterprise must retain control."

As a statement of capitalist necessity, this opinion is a good one and shows that Prof. Goldwin Smith recognizes the pivotal point in the war; but it fails to recognize the ultimate tendency of the working class position in that war, a tendency that does not ask for partnership with the capitalist class, but demands its complete overthrow.

Day by day, year by year, the members of the working class are gradually beginning to perceive that despite its "risks" the wealth of the capitalist class increases manifold, while the slaughter of the workers goes on apace. From this they conclude that if there are any risks, labor only suffers them. The members of the working class are gradually beginning to perceive that with his absence from production on long yacht cruises, dissipations and debauches, "the guidance" of the capitalist in production is merely nominal and non-essential. So perceiving, they conclude that since the risks and the guidance are actually theirs, the control of industry should and must be theirs also. When that occurs the war between capital and labor will be at an end.

CORRESPONDENCE.

(Correspondents who prefer to appear in 1903 under an assumed name will, of course, send their communications, with their own signatures and address, to the editor of the paper.)

Why Do Capitalist Corporations Advertise So Extensively in the Social Democratic Herald?

To The Daily and Weekly People.—The enclosed circular and reply thereto may be of interest to the readers of The People. The reply was sent over a month ago but, up to date, has not been published in the Social Democratic Herald. Yours fraternally,

Frank R. Wilke.
Milwaukee, Aug. 15.

[Enclosed Circular.]

SECOND ANNUAL MONSTER PICNIC
of the
SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF
WISCONSIN.

"At Schiltz Park, Milwaukee, Sunday, July 19, 1903.

"H. W. Bistorius, Sec'y Picnic Committee.

"J. Hunger, Treas. Picnic Committee.

"614 State St., Milwaukee, Wis.

"Telephone, Main 2394.
Dear Comrade: We enclose here-with 100 tickets for the monster picnic, given by the Social Democratic Party of Wisconsin, which please dispose of as soon as possible. The proceeds of this affair will be used to pay the campaign debt of last fall and to assist the "Social Democratic Herald," the official paper of the Federated Trades Council of Milwaukee and the Wisconsin Federation of Labor.

"Make all money orders, drafts or checks payable to H. W. Bistorius, secretary. As the mail received at the office is heavy and as there are various departments, we request you to use the enclosed return envelope on any business pertaining to the picnic. Don't send letters containing on one sheet of paper matter relating to the picnic, Social Democratic Herald, State Secretary, etc. Send your communications to each on a separate sheet. It will save us lots of work and you lots of annoyance.

"Save your tickets, they are numbered. Fifty dollars have been set aside for prizes. Each ticket has a chance to win one of these prizes. A valuable prize will also be given the comrade selling the greatest number of tickets.

"We are endeavoring to secure reduced rates for this occasion on all railroads entering Milwaukee. Indications lead to the conclusion that we will be successful.

"Among the strong attractions will be unique games and contests, a grand concert, dancing, and last but not least, Eugene V. Debs, America's most eloquent labor orator, will speak.

"Announcement of reduced rates will be made in the Herald. Just watch the paper closely. We will keep you fully informed. Our intention is to make this such a formidable demonstration as to make capitalism in Wisconsin tremble.

"To do so, we must have your co-operation. Send in your \$10 for the tickets by return mail. Don't be satisfied at that, order some more. It's not for any particular man's personal advantage but to boost the best cause on earth, the cause of Socialism.

"No separate receipt will be sent, but all money received will be acknowledged in the Herald. Who will be the first? Who will send in the greatest amount? Now for one long pull, one strong pull, one pull all together.

"With Socialist greetings, we are
Yours, for a rousing picnic success,
Picnic Committee.

"H. W. Bistorius, Secretary.

"General Picnic Committee: J. Buchel, J. Hunger, Gustav Hartman, T. Reynolds, H. Taves, J. Doerfler, Jr., O. Saugstad, H. Wachtel, E. T. Melms, M. Gorecki, W. P. Corrigan, E. H. Rooney, Herman Werner, J. Rummel, J. Hassmann, Tony Hesse, Frank Tofelski, R. Buchel, F. Boness, W. R. Tews, F. Lehmann, F. Buenger, P. Bridge, refreshment committee, Robt. Buchel, chairman; reception committee, H. W. Bistorius, chairman; floor committee, H. Taves, chairman; privileges committee, F. Boness, chairman; press committee, H. W. Bistorius, chairman; order committee, O. Saugstad, chairman; printing committee, H. Wachtel, chairman; games and badges committee, J. Doerfler, chairman; literature and music committee, E. T. Melms, chairman; stock committee, Tony Hesse, chairman."

"Enclosed Reply.]
Milwaukee, July 10, 1903.

"Mr. H. W. Bistorius,

"614 State Street,

"Sir: Your circular letter and tickets for the so-called monster picnic sent to Brother Otto Wilkie of the Milwaukee Printing Pressmen's Union, No. 7, were given to me, at their last meeting, to answer. I herewith return tickets prompted to do so for the following reasons:

"First—The Milwaukee Printing Pressmen's Union cannot constitutionally support any political party.

"Second—There are evidences which lead us to believe that the Social Democrats are not sincere in their promises to the wage-workers, for if you still have debts from last fall's campaign how can you consistently give your support to the now striking tanners when you have nothing to give? Is this done as a grand stand play for political purposes?

"Third—If you are going to make the capitalist of Wisconsin tremble why should they give you reduced railroad rates to boom a so-called enemy of theirs? Or, are the capitalists of Wisconsin supporting the Social Democrats?

"Fourth—Another evidence that all your so-called 'trembling of the capitalists' is nothing but an inflated expression of the Social Democrats can be seen from the ads now appearing in (your official organ) the Social Democratic Herald of some of the worse labor skimmers in Wisconsin.

"I shall mention but a few. There is the ad of Barrett's Department Store, known as the 'Red Kindergarten,' where children are exploited. Then comes the ad of the Boston Store, also an exploiter of children. Then the ad of the Pabst Brewing Co., who made their millions of dollars by robbing the members of the working class. The Milwaukee Gas Light Co. (whose plant you wish to buy), advertised in the Herald and is known as an exploiter of anybody who has ever worked for them. These are the capitalists that are 'trembling' for you, yet advertise in a so-called workingman's paper. If that is the mission of the Social Democrats, to further the interests of the labor skimmers, then we do not want anything to do with them.

"Again, if your advertising solicitor were to tell the truth about Socialism, which as we understand it, means the 'abolition of wage-slavery,' he would not get a one inch ad. In other words, he, as well as the Social Democrats, sacrificed principle for business and that business is to mislead the working class. If you possess the courage, publish this in your official organ and let your readers know what other wage-slaves think about the same. I am,

"Yours for class-conscious Socialism as expounded and taught by the Socialist Labor Party.

"Frank R. Wilke.

"1420 Center St., Milwaukee, Wis."

Christian Science vs. Socialism.

To The Daily and Weekly People.—Section Troy held another highly successful meeting at the old stand last evening, at which Comrades Passonno and Long spoke to a large audience of workers. We sold 25 copies of the Weekly People and 12 pamphlets, most of which were "Two Pages From Roman History."

A follower of Mrs. Eddy, that arch grafter, who has considerable of a following here, asked "Which is the stronger, mind or matter?" This freak is an aristocrat of labor, who would delude the worker into the belief that bright thoughts will produce bright realities, whereas it is bright realities which produce bright thoughts; since mind is but the reflex of material conditions.

This freak wishes to have those who hear him, believe that what the workers' need is not an education in economics, but an education that will lift them from the necessity of being manual laborers into mental workers, forgetting that the worker does not go without this education because he wishes to, but because his condition is such that he can't help going without it.

Again if we were all to do as he preaches, that is, become mental workers, the transformed manual workers would still be wage slaves, and their commodity, labor power, would be sold in the labor market at its cost of reproduction just the same as it is to-day; and by reason of there being more of a supply, due to the transformation from manual to mental labor, than a demand for mental workers, their price in the labor market would fall to—if the supply was big enough—the average wage paid to the manual laborer. This we know, a certain kind of mental labor, where the supply is much greater than the demand, has already gone down to, and in some instances, below the average wage paid to manual labor.

These are the principal points that were brought to the attention of the audience—who saw them—when we showed this freak up as an enemy of the workers because he would have them get their minds on something that would not benefit them, while at the same time keeping their mind off their real condition. Exit "Mind and Matter," a mad man.

The Section held a very successful meeting in Watervliet, Monday, and Rensselaer on Tuesday. They propose holding another meeting in Cohoes tomorrow evening, and one in Rensselaer on Tuesday.

Cohoes now has a Central Fakirization of Labor, which was organized last Thursday evening by the shining lights of Cohoes's fakirism.

A. H. B.

Cohoes, N. Y., Aug. 16.

Find He Must Have The Daily People to Keep Posted.

To The Daily and Weekly People.—Comrade Fresh, in subscribing for The Daily People, says he needs it to keep up to date. So say I. Every member of the S. L. P. should be a reader of The Daily People. I have been a reader of it since the very first copy; and, although it gets here two days late, I would rather miss a meal than miss a daily.

The Weekly is no doubt a good paper to develop the revolutionary spirit of the working class and lead it in the right direction, but an S. L. P. man to get the tidings from the firing line at the earliest possible moment and to get them all (for many are crowded out of the Weekly), he needs the Daily.

Comrades, we must bear in mind that the S. L. P. of to-day is only child's play to compare with the storms ahead. Then, like now, our strength will not

depend upon numbers, but upon concerted action. To enable us to act concertedly we must be posted. So start in to read the Daily.

Fraternally,
G. A. Jennings,
East St. Louis, Ill., Aug. 14.

Westerners, Attention!

To the Daily and Weekly People.—It has been my privilege to spend several weeks on the fighting line in New York City. I have found that the exceptional success of Section New York in outdoor agitation is the result of careful study of means and methods. Possibly a few pointers to Western sections and agitation committees from a Westerner may be useful. The results of my observations may be best stated in five suggestions:

1. Don't, forever stand on one street corner to do your talking. Give the workers of other districts a chance to learn our principles. The Caliphs did not conquer Spain by fighting at Mecca. Any one of twenty-five new fields may prove more fruitful than the little plot where you have played all season.

2. Know your city. Where are the Irish? Take a large package of "Erin's Hope" along. Is there an Italian settlement? Send the Italian comrades over to speak their own language to them. If you are going among the aristocratic, four-dollar-a-day ironworkers, your talk must be somewhat different than that of last evening, to the women and children of the shoe factory.

3. Use your soap-box for kindling wood. It suggests that you are going to sell hair tonic at 10¢ a package. Get a portable steel stand which you can fold up and carry about in one hand. Send to New York, if necessary, to secure it. It will be well worth the cost. Such a stand makes speaking easy. Furthermore, it gives dignity to the speaker. A crowd gathers while you put it up.

4. Make a neat white banner bearing the arm and hammer. In red or blue above this device have printed: Socialist Labor Party; below it a motto: "Workers of all countries unite," for instance. This banner is essential. Newcomers constantly join the crowd and see the banner. You need not shout yourself hoarse and tire the others by telling them who and what you are. Put the banner where all can see it. Now seven out of every ten will forget during the night what you have said. When they wake in the morning they will see that arm and hammer; also on election day.

5. Have a chairman to introduce the speakers. This adds more dignity. American workingmen are apt to come close to an organization whose representatives go out and hold public meetings for citizens. Everyone will despise a crowd who pop up, one after another, and harangue the "push." The chairman should announce other meetings, advertise literature and take names of sympathizers. Let the speaker talk about his subject and then stop.

6. Persuade as many comrades as possible to attend these meetings. They gain enthusiasm themselves; some of them will become speakers; above all, they help the crowd to see that it is an institution and a movement which speaks, not an individual.

Twenty such meetings are held each week in New York City. The S. L. P. wins the respect of every decent person who is present. Results are evident.

Comrades of the West, "Up and at them!"
Frank A. Bolin.

Ann Arbor, Mich.

An S. L. P. Longshoreman on the P. S. S. Co. Strike.

To The Daily and Weekly People.—Longshoreman's Union, No. 306, of the International Longshoremen's Association, is on strike at the Pacific Coast Steamship dock. A question of wages is involved. The men want to cents an hour for overtime, while the company claims it is paying a "fair scale."

All seagoing vessels that enter this port, with the exception of the boats of the Pacific Coast Steamship Company, pay 40 cents per hour for day work—i. e., between 7 a. m. and 6 p. m.—and 60 cents per hour for night work, holidays and Sundays. Now, the trouble with the P. C. S. S. Co. is of long standing. The longshoremen have asked time and time again to have this company pay the union wages (they pay only 50 cents per hour for night, Sunday and holidays).

This P. C. S. S. Co. is a powerful organization, controlled by J. J. Hill, of the Northern Securities Company. It claims it cannot afford to pay the 60 cents. This company has practically a monopoly of the trade on this coast from Panama to Alaska, doing an immense trade; so, of course, being in a secure position they can dictate terms.

I do not expect for a minute that we will win the strike, for the simple reason that the P. C. S. S. Co., having all the powers of government upon their side, have everything their own way to win, while we have the vast army of unemployed in their economic ignorance to fight against it; also the police, militia and Federal troops against us, while the scabs have all these on their side.

I tell the men (who are as yet ignorant of their great power, the ballot) that the strike is an ancient weapon, to be used only in case of a last resort, that to win we must go to the ballot box at every election, and cast our ballot for the party of our class, the Socialist Labor Party, and that until we capture the powers of government in the interest of the producer of wealth, the wage earner, we will continue to lose strikes, through our masters' powerful aids, the policeman's club, the bayonet of the militia, and the courts, via their injunctions.

Fellow workers, arouse yourself! Get out of the capitalist nightmare. Post yourself, and think for yourself. When this is done, march to the ballot box and vote for the party of our class, the Socialist Labor Party. I remain a fighter for my class and the fighting S. L. P. Fraternally,
W. A. Herron.
Tacoma, Wash., Aug. 9.

Indorses Article on Lancaster Mills.

To The Daily and Weekly People.—I was glad to receive the first copy of the Weekly People—that of August 1, concerning the article entitled "In Yankee Land," showing how the workers in the Lancaster Mills are treated, and as one of them I can say it is all true. It is the best write-up I have seen for a long time. Send me five copies of the Weekly People of August 1 for distribution.
A. A.
Clinton, Mass., Aug. 15.

Socialism in the Interior of New York State.

To the Daily and Weekly People.—Socialism is being adopted by the wage slaves in some of the small cities and villages in the interior of this State. These wage slaves seem to be ripe to discard the old parties. For the benefit of the comrades, we will let them know what the workman in the country towns think of Socialism.

As our work of advertising brings us to different places, Comrade Coffin and myself thought it a good opportunity to do some agitation for the S. L. P., as it is something new to the workman in those districts. Starting out in Camden three weeks ago we opened a meeting on the public square, having a poster placed there all day, announcing our meeting. We started to speak without any listeners. As the wage workers had no conception of our theories there was none present except those who were passing by and who stopped to listen to what we had to say. Before we had finished speaking, we had over one hundred listeners and not a few of them remarking that we had opened their eyes. In closing we distributed fifty leaflets and received seven subscriptions for the Monthly People and two for the Weekly, and several invitations to come back and speak again.

The next place at which we held a meeting was Oneida, where the sentiment seemed to be against our theories, but before we left we held two meetings and distributed about 100 leaflets of "The Difference," as there were a few kangs in that town who made themselves prominent by keeping out of the way. We received three Monthly subs. Last week at Canastota we held three meetings, the first one there not being hardly enough to form a "corporate" guard; the last one kept a policeman busy making room to let the carriages and people pass. The wage slaves, after the last meeting, were shouting for the S. L. P., declaring they would never vote anything but the arm and hammer again.

Next week brings us to Chittenango, and we have hopes we'll meet with the same success there, as the economic pressure don't miss the wage slaves of one town any more than another. We find them all ripe to adopt our principles as soon as they find out the truth, so comrades up and at them! Down with kangs and Capitalism, and let them know the truth as advocated by the S. L. P. J. J. C.
Canastota, N. Y., Aug. 16.

The Alliance in Lowell, Mass.—Powers Addresses Two Good Meetings.

To The Daily and Weekly People.—Thursday evening, Aug. 13, the Socialist Labor Party held an open-air meeting at the corner of Kirk and Merrimack streets, which was addressed by Thomas J. Powers, of Providence, R. I., who spoke to about three hundred wage slaves.

John Farrell was on hand and sold about thirty pamphlets, "What Means This Strike?" and "Reform or Revolution."

This meeting seemed to be a success in every way, as the closest attention was given to Powers, and he was time and time again applauded when he showed the workers that the only hope for the workers was to organize in the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance.

On Friday night Powers addressed another meeting in Loom Fixers' Hall, which was another success. The trade union leaflets were passed out and, at the end of the meeting, I secured ten names of workmen who wish to join a mixed alliance, so things look bright for the Alliance at present.

Frank J. Simonds, Secretary of Trade and Labor Council, and member of Democratic City Committee, in his paper, is advising the textile workers to organize. Some few weeks ago I thought I would ask him to answer three questions in his paper. The following are the questions:

What is the difference between the trade unions known as the American Federation of Labor and the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance?

I am a cotton weaver. You advise all weavers to organize to improve their conditions and, as the cotton weavers are being fast displaced by the Draper loom, which is throwing hundreds out of work, can I better my conditions by joining the pure and simple union; and, if so, please explain how?

Why is it that labor leaders like John Mitchell and Sam Gompers will advise workers to organize 364 days to fight the capitalist and on the 365th day allow the same men to go to the ballot box and seab it by voting for Democratic and Republicans, who, in turn, send the militia to shoot down union labor when it goes on strike?

No answer has been published to these

three questions, and I don't expect any.

Also wish to state that when the strike of woolen weavers against running two looms on fancy goods was on in the mills controlled by the American Woolen Company, this same paper advertised for seab weavers to go to Plymouth, and at the same time knew there was a strike there.
A Textile Workers.
Lowell, Mass., Aug. 1.

LETTER-BOX

Off-Hand Answers to Correspondents.

A. L. AUGUSTA, GA.—There is not one sentence of Socialist economics but rips long rows of stitches out of the air balloon of Democratic and Republican party pretensions.

G. H. NEW YORK.—Don't sling phrases! Here is a challenge to you. Send in another letter in which, not beating around the bush, you pointedly deny that your "Volkszeitung" is aware of organizations of German workmen who purposely raise the initiation fee to keep out men; and put your signature to that letter. Your letter will then be published, and we promise to append thereto a report of a union sent to the "Volkszeitung" in which that admission is made. We shall give the report in German, so that you may understand it, and in English, for the benefit of others. And we shall give you the exact date of the "Volkszeitung" issue, and the page and column where the report appeared. And the date is fresh, within the last three months. Now go ahead!

M. Y. S. PHILADELPHIA, PA.—Contemptible those theoretical free traders. Observe them well. They will be seen to derive no little enjoyment from blowing their soap bubble into the dimensions of a "duty to the country."

S. F. CLEVELAND, O.—It is not in that threatened New Haven railroad strike alone that the capitalists indulge in such manoeuvres. They are "note shavers" all along the line. It was a "note shaving" performance that they indulged in when they raised the wages of their men after first reducing their force, saving the wages of the discharged ones and then raising the wages of the others to an amount less than that saved by discharges.

E. J. D. MARION, IND.—Shall wait for the write-up, but don't delay.

F. M. CHICAGO, ILL.—Educate persistently and consistently. The rest will come.

M. F. FITCHBURG, MASS.—Warned at the bosses' hearts, patted and cosseted, the labor fair is bound to grow into the stupid tyrant and the browbeating fool. 'Tis the capitalist who waters those qualities and rears that beast.

F. N. BRIDGEPORT, CONN.—What becomes of your boasted Christianity, man? Shall we be told to "remember that He who made us made the brute" and then forget that He who made us made the Italian? Or was, perchance, the Italian made by some other agency than you, according to your catechism?

R. K. CLEVELAND, O.—1. That's as far as Kangaroo papers can go in giving the news truthfully. They must falsify by suppression. The "Il Proletario" interview with the editor of "Worker" appeared after one with the editor of "The People." With its "fine Italian hand" the "Proletario" afforded a good contrast. The "Worker's" interview was that of a polywog snickering at fakirs.

2. It would put fat on the bony carcass of slanders to refute them. If you care to refute, write to Frank Lettner of San Antonio.

P. E. R. MILWAUKEE, WIS.—There's not one instance you can cite. The Social Democrat's economics consist in mere mechanical repetition.

H. F. P. BRIDGEPORT, CONN.—1. As to currency, metallic money or its token, it falls away of itself under Socialism. A medium of exchange with intrinsic value is purely a necessity of a social system under which production is carried on individually and for sale. Write to the Labor News Co. for the pamphlet "Money."

2. As to "religion" you will have to define the term. It means different things to different people, how different you may judge from the classic epigram: "To what religion I belong? To none. Why? Out of religiousness."

M. H. INDIANAPOLIS, IND.—When an election approaches capitalists become weak as soft-shell crabs. They are capable of any antics at such seasons.

P. R. M. NEW HAVEN, CONN.—Republicans differ not the thickness of a nail from Democrats—in so far as their policy affects the working class.

J. A. W. PITTSBURG, PA.—We do not "jump into the Appeal to Reason" on the score of its being a privately owned paper more so than we "bump into" any other paper that claims to be an organ of the so-called Socialist party and yet is a private concern. What you call "bumping into" is the calling attention to a swindle. It is a swindle for a party that claims to proceed along the line of one thing at a time, and that believes in present nationalization, to fall to "nationalize" the one thing that it has in its power to nationalize, to wit, its press.

J. R. TACOMA, WASH.—Of course, the statement of Carl D. Thompson that The People is saying that it is now becoming safe for the S. L. P. to join its party has no foundation in truth. It is a sample of how that gentry "teaches Socialism."

W. A. N. NEW YORK.—Bulgaria polled in 1902 about 20,000 Socialist votes. It has seven members in the national parliament.

T. J. F. BROCKTON, MASS.—That's at present. At present Tobin will sell the label to any shoe manufacturer, and, in consideration of the capitalist's compelling the men to pay Tobin dues, Tobin will advertise the shoes of that concern. Presently, however, these competing concerns will drive bargains with Tobin to the exclusion of other concerns. Unions of the

THE "L" MOTORMAN

Yesterday we took a stroll on Broadway—friend Jack and myself—and, as usual, "something happened." We met his Holiness, the Pope, accompanied by some very strange fold. His right was flanked by a rosy-tinted brunette of generous proportions, clad in nature's garb and an ornamental shellcomb for her wavy hair. The position at his left was occupied by a "tailor-made" young female, possessed of a wealth of "golden hair" and two blue eyes, staring into the world with that placidity of self-satisfied ignorance observable in the ox when it chews the cud. She represented what the too-chivalrous American is pleased to denominate as "the type of the innocent American maiden." Of course this all "happened" in the show window of a picture store and it was a true and perfect emblem of the leading principles, underlying the civilization of to-day, viz., superstition, supported by intense animalism and self-satisfied ignorance.

The logical results of this civilization are apparent in the peculiar intellectual development of the individual as well as in the social structure of which he forms the basis.

It has gradually transformed man's inherent instinct of self-preservation into a crass egotism, which subordinates every higher aspiration to the gratification of the physical, the animal nature of man. It thus finds its logical expression in the modern social structure in the form of the capitalist system; a system, which supports in idleness a small class, provides it with every luxury and increases daily the want and privations of the workers; a system which robs its producers, the toilers, of the wealth, which they and they only create and puts it at the disposal of their despoilers, the capitalist class.

It is not purposed at this time to delve into the history of the development of capitalism, as such an investigation would prove too far-reaching for the limits of this article, nor does the writer intend to show how and why the capitalist class, the ruling class of to-day, reached its present commanding position—let it suffice to demonstrate that capitalism is but one of the inevitable outgrowths of a false civilization, a civilization tending toward the elimination of individuality and a consequent state of barbarism, as far as the masses are concerned.

The higher intellectual aspiration of man only can form the basis of a true civilization, the underlying principles of which should be the mental and moral development of the individual and the uplifting of humanity as a social whole, reducing to a minimum the cares for the well-being of the physical part of man and thus producing an opportunity for an unimpeded development of the human mind.

To establish such a state of society is the aim and object of Socialism and the means advocated by the Socialist Labor Party for the accomplishment of this purpose are in the first place the extirpation of the capitalist class as such and secondly the substitution of co-operative production of the necessities of life for the wage system of the present. Only this can bring about the salvation of the wage-slave—only this can save his individuality; only this can save him from gradually assuming the character of a wealth-producing automaton for the benefit of the oppressing class; only this can save humanity from the chaos into which the blind, insatiable greed of capitalism would plunge it.

To illustrate the above observations let us now consider the case of one worker in particular, that of the motorman of the Elevated Railroad system, especially as his case is of more than usual significance for the reason that capitalism has pushed him so far, only to the entrance of the downward path, the path leading inevitably to a lower scale in society, but which he persistently refuses to see. For let it be understood the motorman does not consider himself as part and parcel of "the common herd of workers." Until lately he has been an engineer and is even to-day a member of the Order of Locomotive Engineers, an organization of workers which does not even recognize, as the average pure and simple union says it does, the principle of the solidarity of labor. It's general conduct, ever since the late Arthur took the helm, has been characterized by the same intense selfishness, which is the characteristic distinguishing mark of capitalism. It has never held out a helping hand to any body of workers either on strike or in need, but to the contrary, it has always been, like the labor-fakir,

and obedient and willing tool of the capitalist class for labor-oppressing strike-breaking purposes.

Such is the organization, which the motorman expects to "stand by him," when a disagreement with his present employers, the Interurban Railroad Company will arise. I say will arise and I say so purposely, for nothing is more certain than the fulfillment of this prediction—and I predict furthermore that this disagreement will arise as soon as the motorman's school, which the above-mentioned company has established, will have turned out enough men to supply the underground road now in the course of construction.

And when this time arrives—mark you well, motorman! Your organization will not stand by you, it will be guided by its own precedents, it will follow the selfish course mapped out for it by the late Arthur, it will deny you any support, it will throw you down and out and it will justify its peridy by the claim that you are engineers no longer—but only motormen.

This is the only action, logical reasoning can deduct from the attitude on the part of this organization.

And the reason why this disagreement must arise—unless, which is hardly within the bounds of probability—the motormen will submit to a reduction of their pay by about one half, without a murmur, is very simple.

When the electric motor was installed the number of cars of each train was increased from five to six, and the number of trips of each train from four to five. Under ordinary circumstances such an arrangement would have increased the extra list, the waiting list of the motormen by about 45 per cent., or, in other words, would have reduced the average pay by this percentage.

But such has not been the case and the reason for this lies in the fact that under the old system only two-thirds of the traffic offered could be handled in safety, while under the new system the whole of it can be taken care of by an increased number of cars and trains, and this is what reduces the above percentage of 45 to 15.

This by the capitalist class inspired motorman is regarded as a small matter, as a temporary affair, which somehow or other, will right itself at some future time, although as a matter of fact it will bear its proportionate share in the ultimate adjustment of the motorman's wages.

But it is the relentless, unavoidable working of the law of supply and demand which will cut in half the motorman's pay in the next future, for let it be understood under the capitalist system labor power is but a commodity on the market, and therefore subject to the same laws and regulations as any other merchandise.

As the making of the engineer takes from five to eight years, the supply of such labor power is not over-plentiful, and it, therefore, commands the comparatively high price of \$3.50 per day, and for the present the motorman is also paid at that rate; but that will be only for a short while, for it should be borne in mind that any able-bodied man of average intelligence can acquire the necessary qualifications of a motorman within the space of from one to two weeks. Therefore, at some period of the very near future the supply of this labor power will exceed by far the demand and at that time its price will be no more than that of the labor power of workers in similar occupations which is from \$1.75 to \$2 per day.

This is the decree of the law of supply and demand, which is as immutable as the laws of the Medes and Persians.

Fellow-workers: the task before you is difficult, more difficult than most of you imagine, for you have to demolish the superstitions, the false doctrines, the inherited prejudices of the ages. I say you have to—for if you do not you will consign your issue, the coming race, to a slavery more abject than ever disgraced the face of the earth. I say you have to—for yours is the majority and a majority only can bring about this result. Do not listen to the bribed tongue of the labor fakir, to the silly talk of the mutual interests of capital and labor. Sooner will the lion spare the lamb than capital will let up "on labor." Exploitation is the essence of the life of capitalism; it is the inexorable law of the nature of its very existence, and without it capitalism must die.

